THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR

Vol. 13 *Summer* • 1944 *No.* 3

Editorial — *Burton E. Livingston*
On the Talk of Samuel Johnson and His Friends — *Joseph Wood Krutch*
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From the Workshop

Our Readers Comment *Our Authors*

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The Men of Culture
Are the True Apostles of Equality

— MATTHEW ARNOLD

While millions of men the world over are engaged in a struggle to preserve the principles of democracy and human equality, it becomes all the more important for "men of culture" to maintain their search for the universal truths with which better to serve mankind's quest for peace and happiness.

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Emerson said, "The scholar is that man who must take up into himself all the ability of the time, all the contributions of the past, all the hopes of the future. He must be an university of knowledges. . . . This confidence in the unsearched might of man belongs, by all motives, by all prophecy, by all preparation, to the American Scholar."

The name of this quarterly is the title of Ralph Waldo Emerson's Phi Beta Kappa address delivered at Harvard in 1837, called by James Russell Lowell "an event without any former parallel in our literary annals," and by Oliver Wendell Holmes "our intellectual Declaration of Independence."

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THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR

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Editorial

Burton E. Livingston

EACH issue of THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR is mainly a collection of essays on many different aspects of current thought. These have been assembled by the Editorial Board, not without much effort and discussion, in the hope that each essay may interest many readers, while the collection itself may represent in a small way the great breadth and the essential unity of American Scholarship. These qualities embrace the literary aspects of all fields of liberal thought, scientific as well as humanitarian. It may perhaps be enlightening and helpful to try to indicate here some of the criteria employed in making the necessary editorial selections.

Articles are to be on subjects known to be currently interesting to large numbers of American thinkers, and likely to interest still larger numbers. Topics are to be widely scattered over the field of scholarly endeavor. Authors are to be well acquainted with their respective subjects, for statements of fact and observation need to be highly trustworthy while opinions and interpretations should merit respect.

Literary style is to be attractive as well as clear, for each essay should be addressed primarily to prospective readers who are neither wholly uninformed nor specially experienced in the particular subject considered. For the advance and spread of liberal thought it is most desirable that the specialist in any field should write not only for himself and his near colleagues but also for specialists in other and distant fields. Each specialist is generally a layman in all fields but his own.

Finally, knowledge and ideas are to be imparted pleasantly, without obvious effort to instruct, to inform or to convert; wisdom needs to be inculcated and propagated without semblance of

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exhortation. Humor might well be the spice of liberal scholarship, if only the supply were adequate.

No doubt, the readers of this magazine may find that our achievement generally falls far short of these aims, but we hope there may be many exceptions, and we always welcome constructive criticism from our readers.

. . . . .

As seamen and dwellers near the ocean shore love the sea, as forest dwellers love their trees, as hill folk love their irregular horizons, so plainsmen love the plains and prairies. A person who has just migrated from a forest region to the open country of a typical prairie is likely to find the latter unattractive. The wide and uniform horizon may seem, curiously enough, to shut one in, as under a tightly-fitting bowl of sky. The immediate foreground seems depressingly monotonous, for it offers but very little of variant detail to the inexperienced eye. With closer acquaintance, however, endurance gives place to affection. The sky-bowl, no longer confining, invites the imagination outward in free sweep. One learns to see and recognize a constantly enlarging myriad foreground of details. Plants, rodents, insects, all are forever in motion, and the picture changes fascinatingly from day to day and with the march of the seasons. There is indeed no limit to the interesting and inspiring happenings of a stretch of natural prairie, nor to the questions that arise concerning the *how* and *when* and *why* of prairie nature.

In this number of THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR many plant features of the North American prairie region are briefly described by Professor Weaver, who knows his prairies at first hand better than any other writer. He has given many years to devoted studies on topographic and climatic distribution of prairie plants and their seasonal activities. His arduous work on the growth and ramifications of root systems is classic. This present paper of his represents the science of plant ecology, which, as every one knows, is one of the many comparatively new subdivisions of what used to be just botany.

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On the Talk of Samuel Johnson and His Friends

Joseph Wood Krutch

NOBODY today, so it is frequently said, either writes letters or holds conversations like those of the eighteenth century.

The platitude is at least a half-truth; and every reader of Boswell will be ready to testify that the talk of Johnson and his friends is good evidence. Johnson, to be sure, was a phenomenon in his own time and famous then for that very reason. He was also, however, *in a tradition* and he did supremely well something which many tried to do. To describe the talk of his circle would therefore be, in some measure, to suggest the difference between that tradition and the traditions of social conversation today.

One of the most evident and most general of its characteristics was conscious virtuosity without that triviality which so often accompanies conversation deliberately practiced as an art. Johnson and his companions sat down for a talk as deliberately as another group would sit down to play chamber music or cards. Every member of the group tried to do well — tried, within the limits of his capacity, to shine. Good things were applauded, and certain sessions were remembered as particularly brilliant. Yet no one was encouraged merely to scintillate. Johnson detested puns and neither he nor his friends would have tolerated anyone who threw the conversation off the track by irrelevant sallies or any form of exhibitionistic cleverness. Certain traditions were pretty scrupulously observed and they determined a form of conversation no closer to the wit combats of the present-day men-about-town, whose wisecracks are reported in the gossip columns, than to the earnest debates of those gatherings in which no topic of less than global significance is ever discussed and in which talk for talk's sake would be the least admissible of aims.

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Johnson and Co. was not composed of men who strove to be "smart" in any of the several meanings of the term; not one of them had what we call "sophistication" as his ideal. But neither was it by any means a little group of serious thinkers. No subject was too slight, none too weighty. The talk might leap from topic to topic and from grave to gay. But it was always *about* something and, though nowhere has the epigram ever been more appreciated, the kind of epigram most admired was the kind which owes its distinction to the fact that it says something more quickly, more adroitly, and more conclusively than it has ever been said before; not the kind which is sheer empty virtuosity, or which aims, first of all, at making paradox or perversity appear unanswerable. Indeed, some of the best of Johnson's own witticisms are so completely of the first kind that to certain tastes they do not seem witticisms at all, and even the happiest and cleverest seldom fail to have substance. "He who makes a beast of himself gets rid of the pain of being a man," is a comment on drunkenness too penetrating to be funny. His reply to the argument *in vino veritas* is ludicrous, but equally powerful: "I would not keep company with a fellow who lies as long as he is sober."

Some considerable part of the conversation was the shop-talk of men professionally concerned with literature and delighting to analyze the strength and weakness both of the accepted masters and of their own contemporaries. It might be gravely judicial, as when Johnson delivered pronouncements concerning Dryden or Pope. At other times it might be tinged with malice: "Gray was dull in a new way, and that made people think him great"; or, more broadly, when he had perversely praised the verses of Samuel Derrick and was trapped by being solemnly asked whether Derrick or Christopher Smart were the better poet: "Sir, there is no settling the point of precedency between a louse and a flea."

Another considerable portion was concerned with manners, fashions, and personalities not even nominally connected with literature. Talk of this sort was too rich, too thoughtful, and too responsible to be called merely gossip, but perhaps it would not be

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unfair to say that it was the thing which gossip is aspiring to be, and that it could rise above the usual level of gossip to achieve some kind of seriousness only because the eighteenth century believed more firmly than our own does in the real importance of "Manners" — i. e., social behavior as opposed to social principles.

Present day talkers, if they take themselves seriously, tend to scorn "mere personalities" and to confine themselves to "movements" and "forces." Triviality, they feel, can be avoided only by the discussion of "tendencies" and the reduction of persons, when persons cannot be avoided, to "types," either political, psychological, or glandular. If Mr. A or Mr. B inevitably comes into the discussion, the only details about him which are really relevant are those which establish him as "fascist," "fellow-traveler," "introvert," or "hypo-adrenal." But the eighteenth century, having got rid of the doctrine of humours as a short cut to the classification of human beings, had not yet achieved any of the modern simplifications — one of which is so startlingly similar to the doctrine of humours that it really seems to make little difference whether we say "excess of black bile" or "too little thyroid secretion." To the men of Johnson's century it seemed that idiosyncrasy was not only fascinating but important, that it was as significant a part of a man as his abstract principles.

No doubt this eighteenth-century faith in the importance of the comedy of manners owed its existence in part, at least, to a strong current of scepticism concerning the extent to which it was possible to push our knowledge of human nature beyond the anecdotal stage, and men talked about manners, customs, and personalities because they often tended to doubt that they could talk profitably about many of the "important" things serious talkers concern themselves with today. Johnson, to be sure, generalized freely enough about morals and about the broad principles of government, but not all of his intellectual contemporaries were as certain as he was that they knew what God intended or what the King had a right to. "Presume not God to scan" and "Let us cultivate our garden" are two injunctions which supplement one another. And both of them tend to emphasize the importance of the comedy of manners. No present-day reader can possibly feel

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the fascination of either Boswell's life or of Johnson himself unless he is capable of sharing to some extent the conviction that what seems to many mere gossip and chit-chat is actually something more.

The current of scepticism concerning man's ability to know much except the manners and customs of his fellow creatures did not, of course, prevent many of even those who professed it much more than Johnson did from proceeding sometimes to speculate and to argue concerning all manner of things which they ought, no doubt, to have classified as unknowable and said no more about. Men who adjured others to avoid the presumption implied in any attempt to scan God, sometimes proceeded forthwith to scan him in their own way. But the professed scepticism did have other effects beyond that of emphasizing the importance of the social anecdote. Johnson and his friends probably spent almost as much time discussing abstract questions as they did in discussing personalities. But they discussed them in a special manner of their own.

That manner was based on the assumption that, in so far as a subject was discussible at all, it was best discussed in terms of what is generally called (without further definition) "common sense," and that any intelligent and well-educated gentleman, no matter what his special aptitudes might be, was as competent as any other to settle questions philosophical, theological, or even scientific. Analysis in the light of "right reason" (which was supposed to be pretty generally attainable) was the final test, and a group composed of an eminent moralist, an eminent actor, and an eminent orator, was quite prepared to apply it. That the results are always satisfactory to us, one need hardly maintain. But that the assumption made the conversations recorded in Boswell and elsewhere possible, is perfectly obvious. That it also makes them, in their own way, interesting, is hardly less so. The spectacle offered by the operation of a keen mind trying to see how much it can accomplish with the tools it possesses and with the materials at hand is always a fascinating one. And in all seriousness it may be said that social life in the eighteenth century afforded more abundant opportunity to participate in or to observe such opera-

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tions than has been afforded in the social life of any age since. It did so, moreover, because the specialist and the expert were still in the embryo stage of their development; because most knowledge and most competence were still so highly generalized.

Today, any casual social group which makes an attempt at conversation both general and responsible is constantly impeded by the sense that no member can possibly claim competence in more than one or two very limited fields. We have put our faith in the expert and, however wise we may be in doing so, we have made it impossible to take general conversation with the same seriousness that the eighteenth century took it. As soon as we abandon the merely irresponsible (though possibly heated) exchange of "opinions," each man speaks on his "subject" and it is immediately granted that only he has a right to speak. Four men, educated in four different professions, may come together only to discover that their equally good educations overlap so little that they can meet on an equal footing only when they discuss what even the uneducated might discuss with almost equal authority. In Johnson's time there was a body of knowledge which could be assumed in any man designated as "learned," and another body which could equally well be assumed in anyone who had acquired what was called "polite learning." Given one or both of these common bodies of knowledge plus the common faith in the dialectic of common sense, and conversation of the sort which flourished in the Johnson circle becomes possible.

Boswell himself was submitting to its severest possible test the assumption that any two cultivated men could understand one another when he deliberately tricked Johnson into the famous meeting with John Wilkes, just to see what would happen. But the generalization survived. When the Great Moralist realized that he was about to sit down to dinner with a man whom he regarded as one of the most depraved scoundrels alive, he sat alone for a moment to compose himself, but he was presently equal to the occasion. Wilkes helped him to some choice pieces of meat, and one interest which they had in common was thus established. Presently that most inevitable of polite subjects — a contested passage in Horace — arose and provided another topic upon

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which two men as antithetical in temperament and experience as two members of the same world could be, could respect one another's knowledge. Presently they were exchanging jokes about the Scotch, and Johnson could join with Wilkes in twitting their mutual friend.

JOHNSON [to Mr. Wilkes]: You must know, Sir, I lately took my friend Boswell and shewed him genuine civilized life in an English provincial town. I turned him loose at Litchfield, my native city, that he might see for once real civility; for you know he lives among savages in Scotland, and among rakes in London.

WILKES: Except when he is with grave, sober, decent people like you and me.

JOHNSON: And we ashamed of him.

The fact that Johnson meant Wilkes to take the reference to rakes to include Wilkes himself is obvious; but so is the fact that when Wilkes turned the implication aside to link himself with the "sober, decent people" like Johnson, Johnson goodhumoredly acquiesced in the joke. As Boswell said, here were "two men, who though widely different, had so many things in common — classical learning, modern literature, wit, and humour, and ready repartee — that it would have been much to be regretted if they had been forever at a distance from each other."

Another way to describe the circumstances which made the age particularly favorable to conversation would be to say that the eighteenth century was the golden age of the amateur, and that conversation is an art of which amateurs are the best practitioners. It flourishes most exuberantly when reasonableness rather than expert knowledge is the thing most trusted, when the assumption is that truth can most often be arrived at, not, as the Middle Ages believed, by metaphysical argument, and not, as we profess to hold, by scientific method, but by the application of "common sense." And we may define "common sense" as the acceptance of certain current assumptions, traditions, and standards of value, which are never called into question because so to question any of them might be to necessitate a revision of government, society, and private conduct more thorough-going than anyone liked to contemplate.

It would be easy enough to demonstrate that common sense is

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not so common (i.e., not so self-evident to all sane men) as the eighteenth century liked to assume. Boswell, to take a trivial but extremely revelatory illustration, thought he had demonstrated beyond all possible doubt that Johnson's preference for rhymed English verse over blank verse was founded in "nature" and therefore the result of common sense, when he cited the remark of a rustic who had been discovered by the Earl of Hopeton poring over a copy of "Paradise Lost." "An't please your Lordship," the rustic is alleged to have observed, "this is a very odd sort of an author; he would fain rhyme, but cannot get at it." Boswell calls this "one of the most natural instances of the effect of blank verse" and it obviously never occurred to him that the rustic expected rhyme, not because it is "in accordance with nature," but simply because most of the verse he had met in his limited previous experience, had not been blank. No doubt much that the eighteenth century recognized as "according to nature" was accepted on no better evidence than this. It was one of its most characteristic errors to "assume that the customs of its little island are the laws of the universe."

Faith in common sense certainly implies that "nature" is constant and known. If we ask what that common sense, upon the acceptance of which conversation of the sort practiced by Johnson and his circle depends, really signifies, we must arrive at the conclusion that it signifies an acceptance of a doctrine which we have rejected — namely, the doctrine so well expressed by Pope when he declared that every normal mind is prepared to recognize truth when it is presented because his mind is not really a *tabula rasa* but one on which "the lines though faintly drawn, are drawn right." That Johnson himself ever attempted to think his way through the difficulties presented if his usual acceptance in some never clearly qualified way of the *tabula rasa* is confronted by his tacit acceptance of the appeal to "common sense" is nowhere indicated. But he could not have talked as he did had he not made this ever recurring appeal. He would, on many occasions, no doubt have been struck dumb if he had said to himself what it not infrequently seems to us that he should have said — something, namely, like this: "The assumption to which I am about to appeal

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is not really self-evident or universally accepted. Since all knowledge arises out of experience, this conviction also is the product of experience, and since different men have had different experiences, different things seem self-evident to different people." But Johnson, as we know, was seldom struck dumb.

The reader who follows the discourses and the dialogues reported in Boswell's *Life* or in Mrs. Thrale's *Anecdotes* will no doubt find himself convinced by the analyses only in so far as he agrees that any particular bit of common sense which happens to be appealed to really is common sense; and such will, often enough, not be the case. If he continues, nevertheless, to find the discourse interesting, he will find it so for one or both of two reasons. He will be fascinated by the revelation of an interesting mind and character, or he will be fascinated by that rational process which consists in reducing opinion to consistency by demonstrating which conclusions are compatible with which others.

And here, perhaps, it should be remarked that it is a capacity to delight in these two things which, more often than anything else, distinguishes that half of literate mankind which finds Johnson one of the most delightful of all companions from that half which finds him only exasperating and wrong-headed. There are, probably, no more High Churchmen or Tories in the one class than in the other. His admirers are rarely disciples in the sense of being persons who accept his moral, political, and social teaching, or even the majority of his literary judgments. They are more often those who, in addition to responding with animal warmth to Johnson's own sturdy goodness and courageous vivacity, are charmed, as men like Burke and Garrick and Reynolds were charmed, by his wit. They are charmed, that is to say, by his ability to make a point with a concision and adroitness which sometimes provoke the smile of delight and sometimes almost paralyze response by rendering either our agreement or disagreement speechless in the presence of such skill in debate.

Edgar Allan Poe once wrote of Thomas Babington Macaulay that the reader's admiration for that gentleman's writing is the result not of agreement, but merely of the fact that we can under-

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stand so perfectly *what it is* that he is saying. On occasion very much the same thing is true of Johnson. His most dubious propositions and his most far-fetched analogies are usually set forth with a stark clarity so striking that even the opponent who feels confident of his ability to find a better argument knows that he is lost because he cannot rival a perspicacity which makes a weak case seem so strong. When Johnson won in this fashion he was violating the rule against cleverness for its own sake. That he dared do so was one of the things which made him unique, for all of his participation in a tradition.

Boswell (of all men) was once anxious to know if fornication was to be considered as "a sin of heinous nature" and Johnson (of all men) assured him that it was not. Boswell then repeated a text of scripture pronouncing judgment against whoremongers.

JOHNSON: Why, Sir, observe the word *whoremonger*. Every sin, if persisted in, will become heinous. Whoremonger is a dealer in whores, as ironmonger is a dealer in iron. But you don't call a man an ironmonger for buying and selling a penknife; so you don't call a man a whoremonger for getting one wench with child.

Boswell, anxious for the reputation of his hero, adds a footnote: "It must not be presumed that Dr. Johnson meant to give any countenance to licentiousness, though in the character of an Advocate he made a just and subtle distinction between occasional and habitual transgression." Johnson, of course, was very frequently talking "in the character of an Advocate," even when law cases were not under consideration. But the point here is neither that fact nor any question as to the justness of his distinction. The point is that Johnson quickly seized upon the word "whoremonger" and, disregarding the fact that he had himself in his *Dictionary* given as one definition of the word simply "one who converses with a fornicatress," produced an analogy so ludicrously appropriate-inappropriate that no other, no matter how much more sound, could thereafter possibly seem other than dull.

If anyone had been so incautious as to challenge him, he would have proceeded to do what Goldsmith called knocking you down with the butt end of his pistol, but what is, actually, employing some tactic more subtle. He would have retorted with something

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like what he said on another occasion to an unnamed disputant who professed not to understand what Johnson had said: "Sir, I have found you an argument; but I am not obliged to find you an understanding."

To call this sort of speech brutal and hectoring is to state only the less important half of the truth. Even those who knew they were going to be knocked down seldom knew well enough just *how* they were going to be knocked down to be able to put up any defense against a blow which usually fell from some unexpected quarter upon some exposed portion of the combatant. Johnson could be rude. But he was seldom rude in any dull, expected, or routine way. His rudeness, like all his other activities, was something to which he put his mind and applied his talents.

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Cultural Reparations and a New Western Tradition

Douglas Rigby

TWENTY-FOUR years ago in Paris, while hard-boiled political representatives of the victorious Allies sat in conference debating the complex problem of what "reparations" should be exacted from the Central Powers, there arose in French and Belgian intellectual circles a vociferous demand that the principle of payment "in kind" be extended from ships and cattle to works of art and other cultural objects.

It was urged, with apparent justice, that while nothing could ever make good the loss of such treasures as the Library of Louvain or the five hundred historic French buildings and public monuments obliterated or badly damaged as a result of the struggle, some compensation at least might be found in taking from German and Austrian museums the best of the French and Belgian art in their possession.

A generation later, anticipating the peace terms of World War II, American newspapers carry reports from London that the United Nations have already agreed upon a plan to exact restitution from the Nazis for every bit of wartime loot and destruction inflicted. Included in the plan, cultural objects take their place with more material forms of national wealth. One member of the House of Lords has demanded that the existence of this scheme be broadcast to the Third Reich as a "solemn warning of the day of reckoning to come"; and even the former Axis partner, Italy, is crying out, after the "crime of Naples," that the Germans must be compelled "to pay with their own art objects for the losses suffered by Italian museums and art galleries."

Yet in 1919 the demands of France and Belgium were denied in principle by their own peace commissioners, and granted in but

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three exceptional instances. Why? And what is likely to be the fate of similar demands begat in our day of an even greater provocation?

These questions lead us to a vista of unexpected significance, wherein the building of an imposing Western tradition appears — a tradition the base of which was just being laid a century and a quarter ago. *This new tradition tacitly forbids indulgence in the cultural looting of one nation by another, and even rejects cultural war reparations "in kind," except in extraordinary cases.* A bright column of enlightenment in unbright years, it offers us warm encouragement to hold fast to our determination to sustain and broaden the democratic goal, and provides one answer to the question, "Has the modern world made any progress over the old?"

Surprisingly enough, there has been heretofore no celebration of this important monument of our civilization. Now, however, because the new peace terms must inevitably include the question of re-allocating large quantities of looted cultural objects, it might be well to examine the story.

So far as international morality is concerned, the predatory urge in man was, until recently, quite unfettered by law or conscience, even among the "benign" nations. The familiar slogan, "to the victor belong the spoils," was everywhere an accepted rule. There were no property rights in wartime nor any sanctities, no inheritance of any peoples that was inviolable.

Long before the atavist Hitler sought to hurl the world backward, history was frequently written in booty rather than in books, and the upward surge of nation after nation can still be traced through the remains of wartime plunder. The legend-endowed, the consecrated, the splendid or renowned, the swords of heroes and the statues of gods, the paintings and tapestries and other national prizes — for the plunderer these have been and are again today the crowning symbols of victory. It was no isolated complaint which issued from the men of Jerusalem ten centuries before Jesus was born, when they lifted their voices in hopeless protest against an Egyptian invader: "He took away the treas-

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ures of the house of the Lord, and the treasures of the king's house; he even took away all."

Later the method of acquisition grew more subtle, as looting was gradually legalized through the use of imposed peace treaties. It was, however, reserved for Napoleon to promote the latter-day form of the practice to the rank of a fine art. Compared to his, the efforts of other modern warriors to enrich their homeland museums and palaces with the spoils of victory were maiden modest. The story of his plundering bears directly on our theme, and so do the popular misconceptions of the final disposal of that plunder.

Not since the days of the Caesars had there been such a swollen grab-bag of cultural loot. In twenty years of power this man dumped fantastic quantities of pictures, books and statues at the feet of France; and his victims, watching helplessly, nursed their rage and waited for the day of revenge. That they did not retaliate by plundering France when opportunity came must be recorded as a minor miracle.

Booty extortion was an important feature of each of the Little Corporal's victory treaties, and this human locust once boasted: "We shall soon have almost every fine thing in Italy, except a few objects at Turin and Naples." At his nod, French commissioners ferreted out the best of the conquered cities' possessions, and the pleas and protests of unhappy owners were unavailing. When, for example, the Duke of Parma offered nearly four hundred thousand dollars for the privilege of keeping his famed Correggio *Saint Jerome*, refusal was curt and unanswerable. The money would vanish, but the painting would remain an ornament to Paris forever and would inspire the creation of comparable works. With these words, and unaware how short a time "forever" was to be, Bonaparte silenced the protests of his own officials, who would have preferred to take the cash and let "forever" go.

Throughout Europe the rape was repeated. Rome contributed the invaluable Vatican archives. From Vienna and Madrid came those of the Holy Roman Empire. Loretto gave up the *Madonna* and relics of her famous shrine. From north, south, and east, by

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barge and *camion*, the treasures kept pouring in — Rembrandts, Holbeins, Cranachs, and Rubens' by the cartload, the Vatican's *Apollo Belvedere*, the *Venus de' Medici*, beloved of Florence, and the *Bronze Horses of St. Mark's*, which the Venetians had lifted centuries before from Constantinople. Crowds lining the Paris streets wildly applauded the processions. Paris alone in all the world could recreate the spectacle of a Roman triumph. Day after day the carts swayed by, and those crates which bore labels of internationally known masterpieces drew special rounds of huzzahs.

From the size of a good provincial museum, the Louvre had become "the acknowledged Emporium of the Fine Arts of the whole civilized world." Although to unscramble so much loot was a mammoth task, it had nevertheless to be accomplished. Previous to this time the strongest of the temporarily allied nations would have stepped in to take the lion's share for itself. But now nothing of the sort occurred, for the treaty which finally concluded the Napoleonic wars was revolutionary in its dealings with plunder.

The deciding factor was not an enlightened sense of justice, but rather the result of circumstances removed from the control of any one person or group. This is often the procedure marking revolutionary changes when man is pushed upstairs. It is then that his volition, his intellect, his moral judgment meet their severest test: can he hold his advance and improve his position, or will he fall back again?

Probably no one would have been more amazed than Napoleon himself to learn how his ravenous fingers were closing the looting gate in Europe — closing it so well, in fact, that it could be sealed by the peace-makers of World War I, and kept sealed until Adolf Hitler blew off the hinges. Yet virtue was so far removed from the intention of the anti-Napoleon Allies (so an English scholar affirms) that at first the Louvre collections constituted a grave temptation for the British. Toying with the knowledge that victorious nations had always claimed the right to spoils of art, the decision was taken out of their hands by the alert Prussians,

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who suddenly and forcibly gathered up their own possessions and those of the other German states and carried them home. In this way, since almost every nation on the continent had felt the pressure of the Bonaparte pincers, a precedent was established for the return of all the loot to former owners.

The men who sat down to write the second Treaty of Paris (November 20th, 1815) had seen enough of war; and, in the calm following that fortuitous solution of the loot problem, they made a considered effort to eliminate as many sources of future European friction as possible. They knew that cultural objects to which a nation has become deeply attached by virtue of historic sentiment can provide a bone of contention almost as provocative as a strip of land richly endowed or strategically important. That there was no exaggeration in the stress they laid upon such questions is proved by the reaction of the French themselves. Indeed, as late as 1930, in a French book on the Louvre collections, the forfeiture of the Napoleonic haul was still being bemoaned, and the pillager himself was justified as an organizer whose chief aim had been to distribute more equably the art treasures of Europe!

"To read some of the old accounts of this time," declares a less biased modern writer, "it would seem as if the directors of fine arts and curators of the Louvre more bitterly mourned the loss of their art spoils than they did the overthrow of the whole country." Yet in time the jig-saw puzzle was largely solved, and the few exceptions, which resulted from special circumstances and were made intentionally, did not alter the general picture.

Even more important than the equitable return of the loot, however, was the fact that the victors, who had for so long been the victims in a series of aggressive wars disrupting the lives of an entire generation, did not retaliate in kind when it came to dealing with cultural plunder. Perhaps the fact that they were many, and were watching each other, helped to balance the scales. The fact remains that, *content with regaining their own, they did not strip their former enemy of belongings rightfully hers;* moreover, in 1816, they even made restitution for some items mistakenly "reclaimed" the previous year from the quondam royal collections of France.

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Looting was, of course, too venerable an institution, it pulled too strongly at the predatory core of man, to be buried entirely with Napoleon. Inevitably there have been some lapses since 1815, and rugged individuals of the soldiery have continued to get out of hand in every war. Across the world in China there were most spectacular falls from grace — in 1860, and again during the Boxer Rebellion in 1900, when Occidental troops were joined by the Japanese in mad scenes of pillage. Throughout most of the last century, from the subjected Italian states the Hapsburgs took what they wanted — manuscripts, paintings, tapestries, entire church interiors, and every sort of valuable, which they failed to return despite repeated promises. After the Franco-Prussian war the Germans seem to have confined their seizures chiefly to simple soldier tokens and battle trophies such as flags and weapons. What might have happened had they won the First World War remains unknowable, and their conduct in the long-occupied areas of France and Belgium is not entirely clear, but the evidence seems to be in their favor.

The famous La Tour pastels from St.-Quentin, for example, long bemoaned as swallowed by the foe, were ultimately discovered to have been taken no farther than Maubeuge, where Hindenburg had installed them in a provisional museum — a store known as *Au Pauvre Diable*. A representative of the municipality of St.-Quentin had been placed in charge, and nearly three thousand persons a month, mostly soldiers, are said to have visited the display.

The Maubeuge "museum" contained other exhibits from public and private collections and was one of several set up, according to the Germans, for the protection of art treasures in the combatant areas. The French thought of them all as trophy collections; but it is undeniable, in the case of the La Tours at least, that had the masterpieces been left in their original location they would have been blown to dust when the Allies bombarded the town.[1]

It is, moreover, significant that when the peace treaties came

[1] It is interesting to note the Nazi statement in November, 1943, that famous French and Italian art treasures removed from Paris and Rome have been sent to central France and to Florence for protection, "not to Berlin as rumored."

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to be written, every cultural item or historic relic considered important enough to be mentioned by name — objects which the Central Powers were specifically required to restore to the Allies — had been taken in previous wars, none during the Great War.

While the test of the law always remains at the mercy of the strongest, it was during peacetime that the Western nations agreed to a united front against cultural plunder. International agreements, first drawn up in 1874 and later confirmed and amplified at the Hague conferences of 1899 and 1907, expressly forbade such practices in what was in effect a Magna Charta not for man himself but for his finest achievements, for those objects which mark his ascendancy, dignity, and purpose. Yet it was for 1919 to decide whether or not the concept of the victor's "right" to such spoils should receive a truly telling blow. It was then that the new tradition met its greatest test, when, in contrast to the partially accidental turn of events a century before, the writers of the World War treaties exercised conscious and enlightened volition to prevent the retaliative looting of cultural objects.

It was not an easy victory. Feeling ran high in those days just as it does today, and strong determination had to be called up to resist the tide. However, whatever else may be flung at the wrecked treaties of World War I, it must be said that the men who drew up the sections on art reparations were scrupulously, almost tenderly, fair. It has been noted that in only three cases were reparations "in kind" exacted for the destruction of cultural objects. These exceptions were made in favor of tattered Belgium, to whom Germany was required by the Treaty of Versailles to make good the burned collections of Louvain University (the burning of which was considered intentional), and to turn over the German-owned side panels of two great Flemish polyptychs, the famous *Adoration of the Lamb* by the brothers Van Eyck, and Dierick Bouts' *Last Supper*. Contrary to the popular belief of our time, these panels, which then were the property of the Kaiser Friedrich Museum in Berlin and of Munich's Alte Pinakothek, were not stolen during the war but had been quite legitimately purchased many years before. They were restored on the principle that works of art which could be so divided ought prop-

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erly to be "reconstituted" in their original and complete form.

Because of the problems arising out of the break-up of Austria-Hungary and the creation of a number of new nations, and because in it an effort was made to rectify some of the wrongs or supposed wrongs of past centuries, the Treaty of St.-Germain with Austria contained far lengthier provisions concerning art reparations than did the Treaty of Versailles. In one of the articles, Austria was reminded of earlier treaty obligations binding her to return to Italy documents and objects extracted, through subterfuge or otherwise, during the nineteenth century. Another article provided that Austria must turn over to the newly ceded territories all records, documents, and historical material possessed by her public institutions which might have a direct bearing on the history of those territories and which had been removed during the ten-year period preceding the signing of the treaty. But — and this is important — the same article declared that the ceded territories were to hand over to Austria records and documents having a direct bearing on the history or administration of Austrian territory, and that negotiations "on terms of reciprocity" were to be undertaken with regard to disputed "objects of historic, archaeological, scientific, or historic character."

Here was stated, however incompletely, the reasonable principle that historical material belongs, wherever possible, to the land of its birth; and though it might prove highly impracticable to carry this principle through to its ultimate conclusions, the mere fact of its enunciation *on reciprocal terms*, while the smoke of battle and revenge still clung to Europe, was a noble signal of growth.

Greater, perhaps, than the actual articles of the treaty were the results of one of them, in which provision was made for the establishment of a committee of three jurists to be appointed by the Reparation Commission. This committee was to arbitrate Allied claims to certain cultural objects which had been in Austrian possession for many generations. Several of these claims, such as Belgium's to the Treasure of the Order of the Golden Fleece, involved items of enormous intrinsic value. The Treasure had been ordered removed from Belgium to Vienna for safety in 1794

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before the approach of the French armies. The order had been given by the then treasurer of the Golden Fleece, and ninety wagons had been required for the transport of the objects involved. Although the Treasure had never been returned, no question of plunder was at stake, and after lengthy deliberations involving an almost fantastically detailed research into old law and the present status of the Order of the Golden Fleece, the Allied committee decided against Belgium. Belgium's claim to the Rubens triptych of *St. Ildefonse*, presenting a different sort of problem, also was denied on legal grounds, and when she registered a formal protest, the treaty terms compelled her acceptance, a fact which added another stout rung to the ladder of justice.

Today Hitler has rolled time back to the grim days of pillage and purge, building, not a "greater Germany that will last a thousand years," but the greatest hate ever brewed in the hearts of men.

How will that hate affect our new Western tradition? On the basis of evidence so far available, the list of grievances may at the end of this war prove longer than man's patience. Surely the provocation to vengeance will be gravely beyond that in 1919 or even in 1815.

To honor his mother, the Fuehrer created the museum of Linz, intended to dwarf all other collections, and sent to it, in addition to other valuables, several hundred paintings taken from Holland. Rumors of thousands of similar thefts, including entire libraries and scientific collections, are rife. Some of these are already confirmed. Some may eventually be proved false. Most significant, however, have been the systematic "protective" measures established by the Nazis, beginning with the infiltration of "tourist" investigators and ending with the "Special Service Battalion of the German Ministry of Foreign Affairs," a group specifically and exclusively charged with the removal from invaded lands of all valuables in scientific institutions, libraries, universities, palaces, and museums.

It will be said, and with reason, that Germany this time has

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been not only a looter but the willful destroyer of vast portions of the intellectual patrimony of other nations. What more just than that she be stripped of her own possessions in payment?

The details of the problem are, of course, far too voluminous to discuss here. There can be no question that all retrievable looted objects must be returned to their owners. But what about reparations for those lost or destroyed? The recommendation that these be paid for in full might seem just enough, but there are times when justice cannot be made to coincide with realism.

To put it flatly, Germany will have no ability to pay. She will be completely bankrupt, and most of her industries will have been bombed out of existence. There remain, then, two possibilities: reparations in manpower and reparations in cultural objects. Wrecked buildings and other monuments of historic value in some cases can be restored by conscripted German specialists, as President Roosevelt has suggested; but when it comes to payment "in kind" for cultural objects, it is clear that these can be at most no more than token payments. In Germany's legitimate store of foreign objects some restitution in kind can be found; her native hoard is another matter. Even though the last German manuscript and bronze bust of Frederick the Great were removed, how could these things compensate Russia for the loss of her Tolstoi shrine? What restitution "in kind" is possible to Poland or Czechoslovakia, where presumably all is vanished; and what could be given Naples in exchange for priceless books and manuscripts wantonly burned in the libraries of the University and the Royal Society?

If the Allied nations were agreed that Germany should be obliterated even as she tried to annihilate Poland, then reason might dictate the distribution of Germany's cultural possessions. But the Allied nations are not so agreed. Germany may be cut up politically. She may be left intact. She may be called upon for several million workers to rebuild as much of the general damage as possible. But England, America, Russia reject annihilation.

Rehabilitation without benefit of new armaments is envisaged instead. The matter of rehabilitation of individuals, as the practitioner so well knows, is not confined to three square meals,

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some work, and a place to sleep. There are roots of self-respect to be considered, and in this regard there is a strong analogy to the group: by clipping away those symbols of peaceful aspiration which identify a nation with its past, rehabilitation becomes a word without meaning. It would seem, therefore, that we must at least make a distinction between cultural objects of foreign origin possessed by Germany and those which she herself has produced. Indeed, these may in the future serve to remind her that her greatest contributions of this sort to the world society were made long before the recurrent idea of a "greater Germany" first burst into destructive flame.

To help disentangle postwar chaos in this field, the United States has established under the auspices of the State Department a "Commission for the Protection and Salvaging of Artistic and Historic Monuments in Europe," an outgrowth of work initiated and still being carried on by the American Council of Learned Societies. Made up of highly experienced men, this commission now has trained representatives attached to the Allied Military Government at the front where, in addition to its efforts to prevent as much further loss as possible, the commission is conducting extensive research into the destruction and looting that has occurred. It has powers of recommendation on cultural reparations, and according to its own stated objectives is expected in certain instances to advocate "restitution in kind."

In view of recent reports that much German loot, particularly in paintings, is being sold today in South America, it might well lie within the province of this commission to circulate warnings throughout Europe and the Western hemisphere, suggesting that all buyers of works of art should carefully investigate the source of any art object, and that buyers of looted objects may be considered as receivers of stolen goods. Even "bills of sale" might be suspect in cases where the pressure of "invasion currency" or other forms of forced sales may have prevailed, since the status of such "sales" has not yet been established.

The hope remains, however, that when unconditional surrender becomes a fact the commission's recommendations and the final decrees of the treaty-makers may be tempered by the historic

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background. If ultimately it should be decided that exceptional circumstances demand cultural reparations, where possible forfeitures might be collected from objects native to the country to be compensated and the bulk of Germany's own intellectual patrimony left intact: in a hundred years the fate of a thousand factories will be forgotten but not the seizure of a single treasured relic.

Should we here insist upon harsh retribution, however "just," we shall be presenting the defeated foe with a rallying point for future aggressions which we hope to avoid. Rather, the wisdom of the new tradition should be kept alive and dedicated as a worthy legacy to the future.

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The New Criticism: A Brief for The Defense

Cleanth Brooks

IN A recent number of THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR, Mr. Darrel Abel has voiced a sharp protest against what he calls "intellectual criticism," with illustrations from the work of John Crowe Ransom, Allen Tate, and myself. The intellectual critic, if I understand Mr. Abel's position, is a person who nurses within him an abiding distrust of emotion in poetry, or, for that matter, in anything else. He is a bloodless creature who can enjoy a poem only by first mummifying it into a drily intellectual "form." He is interested only in this form — not at all in content. He dotes upon paradoxes and abstruse symbols; he has a thoroughgoing distaste for simplicity; and any poem to which he gives his approval must be involved and "ironical."

I suppose that it is scarcely appropriate for me to say that the lineaments of this critical monster cannot be derived from my criticism or from that of Ransom and Tate. After all, I am, at the least, a biased witness. Moreover, an "answer" to an article which involves such distortions as I believe Mr. Abel's does could hardly be very edifying or profitable to the readers of this magazine. It would necessarily degenerate into a long list of denials and countercharges. Moreover, it would also necessarily require detailed definitions of terms — such terms as "irony," "form," and "simplicity." Such discussion, in my opinion, is inevitably boring to any but the most intensely interested audience.

On the whole, it would seem that the most sensible thing to do would be to present a sample, here and now, of what Mr. Abel calls "intellectual criticism" and let the reader draw his own conclusion. Since the sample is taken from my own work, it can

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scarcely be presented as a specific defense of the work of Ransom and Tate (although I hope that they would endorse what I have to say here). But though I have no right to commit them to the critical position implied by what follows, I think that they are entitled to all the benefits which may possibly accrue from any altered view of the accuracy of Mr. Abel's diagnosis. And if the sample merely confirms Mr. Abel's diagnosis as highly fair and accurate, Mr. Abel himself, of course, deserves the benefits of that confirmation.

The sample criticism has to do with Tennyson's "Tears, Idle Tears." I have chosen it for several reasons. Tennyson is not, one would suppose, a favorite of the "intellectual" critics, and Tennyson's poetry should — if Mr. Abel's account is correct — be a poetry about which intellectual criticism has nothing of any value to say. Tennyson is not an "intellectual" poet; he is not supposed to make use of irony, paradox, and complex symbol. One of his lyrics ought, consequently, to serve as a fair test case; though the fairness of the test — and its rigor — will depend in part on how carefully the reader is willing to read the following poem.

Tears, Idle Tears

Tears, idle tears, I know not what they mean,
Tears from the depth of some divine despair
Rise in the heart, and gather to the eyes,
In looking on the happy Autumn-fields,
And thinking of the days that are no more.

Fresh as the first beam glittering on a sail,
That brings our friends up from the underworld,
Sad as the last which reddens over one
That sinks with all we love below the verge;
So sad, so fresh, the days that are no more.

Ah, sad and strange as in dark summer dawns
The earliest pipe of half-awakened birds
To dying ears, when unto dying eyes
The casement slowly grows a glimmering square;
So sad, so strange, the days that are no more.

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Dear as remember'd kisses after death,
And sweet as those by hopeless fancy feign'd
On lips that are for others; deep as love,
Deep as first love, and wild with all regret;
O Death in Life, the days that are no more.

Any account of the poem may very well begin with a consideration of the nature of the tears. Are they *idle* tears? Or are they not rather the most meaningful of tears? Does not the very fact that they are "idle" (that is, tears occasioned by no immediate grief) become in itself a guarantee of the fact that they spring from a deeper, more universal cause?

It would seem so, and that the poet is thus beginning his poem with a paradox. For the third line of the poem indicates that there is no doubt in the speaker's mind about the origin of the tears in some divine despair. They "rise in the heart" — for all that they have been first announced as "idle."

But the question of whether Tennyson is guilty of (or to be complimented upon) a use of paradox may well wait upon further discussion. At this point in our commentary, it is enough to observe that Tennyson has chosen to open his poem with some dramatic boldness — if not with the bold step of equating "idle" with "from the depth of some divine despair," then at least with a bold and violent reversal of the speaker's first characterization of his tears.

The tears "rise in the heart" as the speaker looks upon a scene of beauty and tranquillity. Does looking on the "happy Autumn-fields" bring to mind the days that are no more? The poet does not say so. The tears rise to the eyes in looking on the happy "Autumn-fields" *and* thinking on the days that are no more. The poet himself does not stand responsible for any closer linkage between these actions, though, as a matter of fact, most of us will want to make a closer linkage here. For, if we change "happy Autumn-fields," say, to "happy April-fields," the two terms tend to draw apart. The fact that the fields are autumn-fields which, though happy, point back to something which is over — which is finished — *does* connect them with the past and therefore properly suggests to the observer thoughts about that past.

To sum up: the first stanza has a unity, but it is not a unity

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which finds its sanctions in the ordinary logic of language. Its sanctions are to be found in the dramatic context, and, to my mind, there alone. Indeed, the stanza suggests the play of the speaker's mind as the tears unexpectedly start, tears for which there is no apparent occasion, and as he searches for an explanation of them. He calls them "idle," but, even as he says "I know not what they mean," he realizes that they must spring from the depths of his being — is willing, with his very next words, to associate them with "some divine despair." Moreover, the real occasion of the tears, though the speaker himself comes to realize it only as he approaches the end of the stanza, is the thought about the past. It is psychologically and dramatically right, therefore, that the real occasion should be stated explicitly only with the last line of the stanza.

This first stanza, then, recapitulates the surprise and bewilderment in the speaker's own mind, and sets the problem which the succeeding stanzas are to analyze. The dramatic effect may be described as follows: the stanza seems, not a meditated observation, but a speech begun impulsively — a statement which the speaker has begun before he knows how he will end it.

In the second stanza we are not surprised to have the poet characterize the days that are no more as "sad," but there is some shock in hearing him apply to them the adjective "fresh." Again, the speaker does not pause to explain: the word "fresh" actually begins the stanza. Yet the adjective justifies itself.

The past is fresh as with a dawn freshness — as fresh as the first beam glittering on the sail of an incoming ship. The ship is evidently expected; it brings friends, friends "up from the underworld." On the surface, the comparison is innocent: the "underworld" is merely the antipodes, the world which lies below the horizon — an underworld in the sense displayed in old-fashioned geographies with their sketches illustrating the effects of the curvature of the earth. The sails, which catch the light and glitter, will necessarily be the part first seen of any ship which is coming "up" over the curve of the earth.

But the word "underworld" will necessarily suggest the underworld of Greek mythology, the realm of the shades, the abode of

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the dead. The attempt to characterize the freshness of the days that are no more has, thus, developed, almost imperceptibly, into a further characterization of the days themselves as belonging, not to our daylight world, but to an "underworld." This suggestion is, of course, strengthened in the lines that follow in which the ship metaphor is reversed so as to give us a picture of sadness: evening, the last glint of sunset light on the sail of a ship

That sinks with all we love below the verge. . . .

The conjunction of the qualities of sadness and freshness is reinforced by the fact that the same basic symbol — the light on the sails of a ship hull down — has been employed to suggest both qualities. With the third stanza, the process is carried one stage further: the two qualities (with the variant of "strange" for "fresh") are explicitly linked together:

Ah, sad and strange as in dark summer dawns . . . .

And here the poet is not content to suggest the qualities of sadness and strangeness by means of two different, even if closely related, figures. In this third stanza the special kind of sadness and strangeness are suggested by one and the same figure.

It is a figure developed in some detail. It, too, involves a dawn scene, though ironically so, for the beginning of the new day is to be the beginning of the long night for the dying man. The dying eyes, the poem suggests, have been for some time awake — long enough to have had time to watch the

. . . casement slowly [grow] a glimmering square . . . .

The dying man, soon to sleep the lasting sleep, is more fully awake than the "half-awakened birds" whose earliest pipings come to his dying ears. We know why these pipings are sad; but why are they *strange?* Because to the person hearing a bird's song for the last time, it will seem that he has never before really heard one. The familiar sound will take on a quality of unreality — of strangeness.

If this poem were merely a gently melancholy reverie on the sweet sadness of the past, Stanzas II and III would have no place in the poem. But the poem is no such reverie: the images from the past rise up with a strange clarity and sharpness that shock

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the speaker. Their sharpness and freshness account for the sudden tears and for the psychological problem with which the speaker wrestles in the poem. If the past would only remain melancholy but dimmed, sad but worn and familiar, we should have no problem and no poem. At least, we should not have this poem; we should certainly not have the intensity of the last stanza.

That intensity, if justified, must grow out of a sense of the apparent nearness and intimate presence of what is irrevocably beyond reach: the days that are no more must be more than the conventional "dear, dead days beyond recall." They must be beyond recall, yet alive — tantalizingly vivid and near. It is only thus that we can feel the speaker justified in calling them

> Dear as remember'd kisses after death,
> And sweet as those by hopeless fancy feign'd
> On lips that are for others. . . .

It is only thus that we can accept the culminating paradox of

> O Death in Life, the days that are no more.

We have already observed, in the third stanza, how the speaker compares the strangeness and sadness of the past to the sadness of the birds' piping as it sounds to dying ears. There is a rather brilliant ironic contrast involved in the comparison. The speaker, a living man, in attempting to indicate how sad and strange to him are the days of the past, says that they are as sad and strange as is the natural activity of the awakening world to the man who is dying: the dead past seems to the living man as unfamiliar and fresh in its sadness as the living present seems to the dying man. There is more here, however, than a mere, ironic reversal of roles; in each case there is the sense of being irrevocably barred out from the known world.

This ironic contrast, too, accounts for the sense of desperation which runs through the concluding lines of the poem. The kisses feigned by "hopeless fancy" are made the more precious because of the very hopelessness; but memory takes on the quality of fancy. It is equally hopeless — the kisses can as little be renewed as those "feign'd / On lips that are for others" can be obtained. The realized past has become as fabulous as the unrealizable future. The days that are no more are as dear as the one, as sweet

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as the other, the speaker says; and it does not matter whether we compare them to the one or to the other or to both: it comes to the same thing.

But the days that are no more are not merely "dear" and "sweet"; they are "deep" and "wild." Something has happened to the grammar here. How can the days be "deep as love" or "wild with all regret"? And what is the status of the exclamation "O Death in Life"? Is it merely a tortured cry like "O God! the days that are no more"? Or is it a loose appositive: the days that are no more are a kind of death in life?

The questions are not asked in a censorious spirit, as if there were no justification for Tennyson's license here. But it is important to see how much license the poem requires, and the terms on which the reader decides to accord it justification. What one finds on closer examination is not muddlement but richness. But it is a richness achieved through principles of organization which many an admirer of the poet has difficulty in allowing to the "obscure" modern poet.

For example, how can the days of the past be *deep?* Here, of course, the problem is not very difficult. The past is buried within one: the days that are no more constitute the deepest level of one's being, and the tears that arise from thinking on them may be said to come from the "depth of some divine despair." But how can the days be "wild with all regret"? The extension demanded here is more ambitious. In matter of fact, it is the speaker, the man, who is made wild with regret by thinking on the days.

One can, of course, justify the adjective as a transferred epithet on the model of Vergil's *maestum timorem;* and perhaps this was Tennyson's own conscious justification (if, indeed, the need to justify it ever occurred to him). But one can make a better case than a mere appeal to the authority of an established literary convention. There is a sense in which the man and the remembered days are one and the same. A man is the sum of his memories. The adjective which applies to the man made wild with regret can apply to those memories which make him wild with regret. For, does the man charge the memories with his own pas-

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sion, or is it the memories that give the emotion to him? If we pursue the matter far enough, we come to a point where the distinction lapses. Perhaps I should say, more accurately, adopting the metaphor of the poem itself, we *descend* to a depth where the distinction lapses. The days that are no more are *deep* and *wild*, buried but not dead — below the surface and unthought of, yet at the deepest core of being, secretly alive.

The past *should* be tame, fettered, brought to heel; it is not. It is capable of breaking forth and coming to the surface. The word "wild" is bold, therefore, but justified. It reasserts the line of development which has been maintained throughout the earlier stanzas: "fresh," "strange," and now "wild" — all adjectives which suggest passionate, irrational life. The word "wild," thus, not only pulls into focus the earlier paradoxes, but is the final stage in the preparation for the culminating paradox, "O Death in Life."

The last stanza evokes an intense emotional response from the reader. The claim could hardly be made good by the stanza taken in isolation. The stanza leans heavily upon the foregoing stanzas, and the final paradox draws heavily upon the great metaphores in Stanzas II and III. This is as it should be. The justification for emphasizing the fact here is this: the poem, for all its illusion of impassioned speech — with the looseness and *apparent* confusion of unpremeditated speech — is very tightly organized. It represents an organic structure; and the intensity of the total effect is a reflection of the total structure.

The reader, I take it, will hardly be disposed to quarrel with the general statement of the theme of the poem as it is given in the foregoing account; and he will probably find himself in accord with this general estimate of the poem's value. But the reader, if he has the normal tincture of academic criticism, may well find that the amount of attention given to the structure of the poem is irrelevant, if not positively bad. In particular, he may find the emphasis on paradox, ambiguity, and ironic contrast displeasing. He has not been taught to expect these in Tennyson, and he has had the general impression that the presence of these qualities represents the intrusion of alien, "unpoetic" matter.

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I have no wish to intellectualize the poem — to make conscious and artful what was actually spontaneous and simple. Nevertheless, the qualities of ironic contrast and paradox *do* exist in the poem; and they *do* have a relation to the poem's dramatic power.

Such qualities will not in themselves, of course, insure dramatic force. And the employment of them carries, to be sure, its own risks: the poem may become unnatural and smell of the lamp. But when the poet is able, as in "Tears, Idle Tears," to analyze his experience, and in the full light of the disparity and even apparent contradiction of the various elements, bring them into a new unity, he secures not only richness and depth but dramatic power as well. Our conventional accounts of poetry which oppose emotion to intellect, "lyric simplicity" to "thoughtful meditation," have done no service to the cause of poetry. The opposition is not only merely superficial: it falsifies the real relationships. For the lyric quality, if it be genuine, is not the result of some transparent and "simple" redaction of a theme or a situation which is somehow poetic in itself; it is, rather, the result of an imaginative grasp of diverse materials — but an imaginative grasp so sure that it may show itself to the reader as unstudied and unpredictable without for a moment relaxing its hold on the intricate and complex stuff which it carries.

So much for the sample criticism. The reader has found it either helpful or not — an adequate reading or an inadequate. But whether it is adequate or inadequate, and whether, for the particular reader, it is superfluous or helpful, the following observations ought to be put on record, particularly in view of Mr. Abel's objections.

(1) The criticism does not propose to substitute for the poem. It is a scaffolding, merely, which, if it affords no closer view of the poem, may be torn away — and in any case is to be removed after it has served its purpose.

(2) It does not pretend to constitute an expression of the critic's own emotional response to the poem. (I should be glad to send the editor a duly sworn affidavit stating that I have deeply enjoyed the poem, if such a statement would serve any purpose,

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critical or otherwise. But the criticism given above does not pretend to do duty for that statement.)

(3) It does not propose to "explain away the magic of the poem." And frankly, it has been written on the supposition that a good poem need not fear having its magic explained away. Indeed, it is written in the old-fashioned belief — more honored in the declaration than in the observance — that a good poem is better (more meaningful and more "magical") at a fifteenth reading than at a first.

(4) It does not propose to "intellectualize" the poem unless talking about it as carefully and sensitively as possible constitutes intellectualization. The skin may bristle so as to defeat the razor when a man is confronted with true poetry. This is Housman's testimony. But skin-bristling is not criticism; and any criticism which makes use of words at all runs the risk of being damned as too intellectual if we confuse skin-bristling with criticism.

(5) It does not propose to represent the process by which the poet worked out the poem or to constitute a formula by which other such poems might be written. But the reader who insists on finding in a poem only what he can prove that the poet self-consciously and intentionally put into the poem will have his difficulties with any poem less simple than "Mary had a little lamb." *Legal* evidence of the poet's conscious intentions is much harder to obtain than is legal evidence of the critic's emotional reactions. The difficulty here certainly does *not* give the critic *carte blanche* to read anything into a poem that he likes. He will have to find his sanctions in the structure of the poem itself.

The modern criticism which distresses Mr. Abel and many another reader of our day doubtless has faults to which it is answerable. Yet some of its virtues ought to recommend it to him and to other serious readers of poetry who share his distress. What he calls "intellectual" criticism does take poetry seriously enough to assume that it makes sense — not only common sense but uncommon sense. It refuses to turn poetry into a "statement of a high truth in a decorated form," and thus to treat it as a rhetorical embellishment of philosophy. It is very much con-

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cerned with the characteristic structure of poetry, not because it accepts the conventional, sterile division of poetry into "form" and "content," but because it realizes that the *way* that a thing is said determines *what* is said. In brief, it respects the poem enough to try to find out what the poem says, as fully and as precisely as possible. In a civilization in which we are fast losing our ability to read even expository prose, in which our characteristic study of literature turns, more and more, into history, and in which the majority of the adult population, we are assured on good authority, turns for its emotional satisfaction to the comic strips — in such a civilization there may be something to be said for "intellectual" criticism after all.

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The Antagonists

Muriel Rukeyser

Pieces of animals, pieces of all my friends
prepare assassinations while I sleep.
They shape my being, a gallery of lives
fighting within me, and all unreconciled.
Before them move my waking dreams, and ways
of the spirit, and simple action. Among these
I can be well and holy. Torn by them I am wild,
smile, and revenge myself upon my friends
and find myself among my enemies.
But all these forms of incompleteness pass
out of their broken power to a place
where dream and dream meet and resolve in grace.

The closing of this conflict is the end
of the initiation. I have known the cliff
and known the cliff-dream of the faces drowned.
Stood in the high sun, a dark girl looking down,
seeing the colors of water swaying beneath me, dense
in the flood-summer, various as my love
and like my hope enchanted. Drawn to blue
chance and horizons, and back as sea-grasses move
drawn landward slowly by incoming tides —
and then the final cancelling and choice,
not tilted as flowers under wind, but deep
blessing of root and heart, underwater swung,
wrenched, swayed, and given fully to the sea.
Heaven not of rest, but of intensity.

The forms of incompleteness in our land
pass from the eastern and western mountains where
the seas meet the dark islands, where the light
glitters white series on the snowlands, pours it wine
of lenient evening to the center. Green
on shadows of Indiana, level yellow miles . . .

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The prairie emblems and the slopes of the sky
and desert stars enlarging in the frost
redeem us like our love and will not die.
All origins are here, and in this range
the changing spirit can make itself again,
continually love, continually change.

Out of the myth the mother leaned;
From out the mother shines the child;
Man rises, in the mass contained;
And from this growth creation grows.
The fire through all the spiral flows:
Create the creative, many-born!
And use your love, unreconciled!

In wheels, in whirlwind, in a storm of power
alive again and over every land
the thunderbird with lightnings at his wrists.
Eclipses uncloud and show us miracle,
gleaming, our ancestors, all antagonists:
Slave and Conquistador, dead hand-to-hand,
scented fastidious Tory with his whore,
distinguished rebel and woman at the plow.
The fiery embryo umbilical
always to failure, and form developing
American out of conflict.
Fierce dissenting ghosts,
the second Adams' fever and eagle voice
and Jackson's muscular democratic sense.
Sprung in one birth John Brown, a mad old man
whose blood in a single broken gesture freed
many beliefs; and Lincoln's agony
condemning and confirming. O, they cry,
the oppositions cry, O fight for me!
Fight, you are bound to freedom, and be free!
When Hawthorne saw the fabulous gift, he tore
flesh from his guilt, and found more guilt; the bells
rang barter of the self, but Melville drowned.
The doubled phantoms bring to our terrible
chaos the order of a meeting-place
where the exchange is made, the agonies
lie down at last together face to face.

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In the black night of blood, the forms begin
to glitter alive, fathers of constellations,
the shining and the music moving on.
We are bound by the deepest feuds to unity.
To make the connections and be born again,
create the creative, that will love the world.

Not glistening Indies, not continents, but the world
opening now, and the greatness of our age
that makes its own antagonists of the wish.
We want to find and will spend our lives in finding:
the landfall of our broken voyages
is still our America of contradictions.
Ancestors of that dream lie coupled in our flesh,
pieces of animals, pieces of all our friends
meet in us and we live. We do not die.

Magical keen Magellan sought a rose
among the compass and legendary winds.
Green sequels rocked his eyes in water; he
hung with the scorpion sun on noon's glass wall,
stared down, down into the future as he sailed.
Fanatic travels, recurrent mysteries.
Those who want the far shore spend their lives on the ocean.
The hand of God flowers in coasts for these.
Those who want only home spend their lives in the sky.
Flying over tonight, while thirteen searchlights join
high incandescent asters on black air.
The blinding center fastens on a plane
floating and white, glare-white; he wanting land
and intimate fertile hours, hangs there. Sails
great scenes of danger, or wades through crazy sand.

Those who most long for peace now pour their lives on war.
Our conflicts carry creation and its guilt,
these years' great arms are full of death and flowers.
A world is to be fought for, sung, and built:
Love must imagine the world.

The wish of love
moving upon the body of love describes
closing of conflict, repeats the sacred ways
in which the spirit dances and survives.

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To that far meeting-place call home the enemies —
they keep their oppositions, for the strong
ironic joy of old intensities
still carries virile music.
O, the young
will come up
after us
and make the dream,
the real world of our myth.
But now, the song
they will discover is a shadowy theme —

Today we are bound, for freedom binds us — we
live out the conflict of our time, until
Love, finding all the antagonists in the dance,
moved by its moods and given to its grace,
resolves the doom
and the deliverance.

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Philosophy: A Hope for Higher Education

Max Black

ANYONE who cares for the survival of liberal education must view its present condition with anxiety. Those teachers of the humanities whose only opportunity for national service consists in being "refreshed" into indifferent teachers of freshman mathematics may take a little comfort from the advice which is so freely tendered them in this period of painful, if inevitable, educational retrogression. Now is the time, it is said, to make plans for the future; this breathing-space (an agreeable euphemism for a state of partial asphyxiation) must be used to prepare better and more effective programs of education for the days when the colleges can once more revert to their proper function.

Such exhortations would be accepted with better grace if they always proceeded from those whom enthusiasm for liberal education in more normal times would absolve from the suspicion of insincerity. The advice is good, nevertheless, and it will be taken. Planning there will certainly be, with the familiar sequence of committees of investigation, public reports and appeals for funds. Before long, without a doubt, there will be intimations, as so often before, of "a new revolution in liberal education" and the contributions it may be expected to make towards "winning the peace."

It is easy to forget that revolutions are not constituted by violence alone; the classical political revolutions were born of transformations of principle no less than of deeds, and no crowd ever stormed the barricades to the tune of Auld Lang Syne. It would be necessary to apologize for repeating so elementary an historical platitude, were it not for the danger of its neglect at this time. There is a serious danger that planning for education in the postwar period may prove ineffective through just such a

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blindness to the importance of formulating ideals and principles of action. Previous experience of educational readjustment provides good reason for the expectation that proposed changes in university programs will amount to little more than a reshuffling of existing resources made, in answer to external pressures, by administrators and instructors paralyzed by internecine rivalries and the lack of unifying principle.

To any detached observer the *prevailing* absence of principle in the organization of liberal and humane studies is sufficiently obvious. The curricula of the professional schools and vocational colleges are certainly planned with some regard for logical arrangement of subject matter and the psychological sequences of the learning process. But the arrangement of university studies in the field of non-vocational studies is as logical as a circus and as consequential as a zoo.

Perhaps the analogy most clearly suggested by the present organization of liberal education for the non-specialist is that of the "free market" of the classical economist's conception. Here, if anywhere, will be found the free competition of one elective course against another, and each against all; here, too, the student buyer, as satisfyingly shortsighted as any economic man, his freedom to choose between pushpin and poetry limited only by perfunctory and elastic prerequisites; and here, also, in the dim administrative background, the benevolent laissez-faire central authority, concerned chiefly to preserve the due forms of contractual registration and statistical decorum. Of such a mode of organization (if indeed it deserves the name) the justifying conception can only be an equation of liberal education with traffic in a fictitious educational commodity, to be found, in equal amounts and of equal value, in all courses able to establish themselves in the college curriculum.

This is not a new complaint; the ghost of President Lowell might quote his own inaugural address today with perfect relevance:

> The transitional nature of existing conditions is seen again in the absence, among instructors as well as students, of fixed principles by which the choice of courses of study ought to be guided. It is seen, more mark-

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edly still, in the lack of any accepted view of the ultimate object of a college education.

Such chaotic absence of principle in the present organization of liberal and humane studies is most strikingly illuminated by the precarious status of philosophy in university education. Relegated to the position of a mere "cultural elective," it finds itself competing, ever less successfully, with such other appendages to the sterner business of vocational and professional education as "appreciation of landscape architecture," "problems in home management," and "principles of effective speaking."

Yet to say that philosophy could be, and ought to be, a center of unification in liberal education is to echo a significant, though now unheeded, truism whose validity is attested by every educational reformer from Plato to John Dewey. The case for the teaching of philosophy, and for the philosophical teaching of all subjects, as an instrument of liberal education has been happily summarized by William James in *Some Problems of Philosophy:*

> Philosophy, indeed, in one sense of the term is only a compendious name for the spirit in education which the word "college" stands for in America. Things can be taught in dry dogmatic ways or in a philosophic way. At a technical school a man may grow into a first-rate instrument for doing a certain job, but he may miss all the graciousness of mind suggested by the term liberal education. He may remain . . . intellectually pinned down to his one narrow subject, literal, unable to suppose anything different from what he has seen, without imagination, atmosphere, or mental perspective.

What is this "sense of the term" philosophy to which William James refers? Certainly not that which identifies philosophy only with technical studies in epistemology or ontology, axiology or aesthetics. Nor is philosophy in this humane sense the same as the hasty inspection of the great fallen monuments to the philosophical giants of antiquity. James intended, as have all to whom philosophy was no less than a way of life, at the very least a certain style of thinking and inquiring, characteristically involved in the pursuit of problems which escape the classifications determined by the selective procedures of the special sciences.

Philosophy, in this light, is seen to be the struggle, constantly renewed in the history of ideas, against mental provincialism and

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the imperialism of special disciplines. The philosopher is a critic or nothing at all; able to pursue his vision of the world and man's place in it only at the expense of constant warfare against the muddled thinking and unexamined prejudices which beset his way. The program of philosophy may be ambitious and even impossible of achievement; it is nevertheless one which will continue to exercise an enduring fascination for all whose eyes have been opened to its importance.

Of utmost importance to the framers of educational programs for the intellectually immature is the fact that *the aims of philosophical inquiry can be achieved by stages and at different levels of insight.* To cite the great unsolved problems of metaphysics as an argument against the value of philosophy in liberal education is as intelligent as to rely upon the controversies in the foundations of mathematics as a ground for excluding elementary mathematics from university curricula. There are other ways to enlarge the horizon than by travel in the stratosphere. Whenever a student is no longer content to proceed with unexamined assumptions and unscrutinized premises and finds his own nature and that of the world around him presenting problems which neither the psychologist nor any other specialist is able to answer, he is ready for the discipline of philosophy.

In the philosophical training which the best kind of teaching can supply, such a student may be helped to achieve benefits which he is unlikely to receive in the same measure from any other branch of his studies. *He will be taught to take ideas with utmost seriousness*, not merely as manifestations of a culture, or as instruments for achieving of practical ends, but as themselves inherently capable of truth and falsity; *he may hope to learn something of the nature of reliable inquiry and the obstacles to its practice*, and in so doing come to understand better the powers and the limitations of the special methods he will meet in his technical studies; *he may study the adventures of those ideas which remain of paramount importance for his own intellectual and moral development.* In short, the student can expect to learn from a study of philosophy something of what it means to be reasonable, to pursue the truth, and to be in possession of a rational faith.

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It is hard to decide whether the comparative neglect in university education of philosophy in *this* sense is more of a reflection upon those who have failed to teach it or those who have failed to learn.

If the intellectual interests of scholars were in practice limited to issues capable of resolution by the restricted procedures of their own specialties, the neglect of philosophy in the universities would be easier to understand and defend. Yet even the most cursory examination of current literature demonstrates the existence of a keen interest, among scholars who are not professional philosophers, in questions which are, in our sense of the word, philosophical. Often this interest arises directly as an extension of problems peculiar to the special field of study concerned. Thus a distinguished sociologist finds it necessary to preface a critique of sociological method by a full dress discussion of the philosophical analysis of causality. A literary critic embarks upon an exegesis of Aristotle; or a group of eminent biologists feels it appropriate to include in a collection of technical papers a philosophical discussion of the reality of species. It would be easy to multiply instances of historians, economists, psychologists, mathematicians who find it impossible to submit indefinitely to the prudent blinkers of their own discipline. If further evidence were needed of avowed and explicit concern with philosophical problems it would be sufficient to exhibit such manifestations as the recent "Conferences on Science, Religion, and Philosophy" or the numerous composite volumes devoted to the methodology and value of the special sciences which are too familiar to need further description.

What is perhaps not quite so obvious is the extent to which philosophical issues are relevant to and implied in controversial debate at a less academic level. Disputes about the reform of education, the new protestant and quasi-thomist theologies, "semantics," geo-politics and race doctrines are all partly philosophical in our sense. For each involves questions, whether of the objectivity of values, the relation of insight to discursive knowledge, the reality of abstractions, the interdependence of science and history, or the validity of scientific method, which cannot be

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answered within the framework of assumptions of any identifiable special discipline.

Such philosophical questions cannot be answered by sociology or psychology, precisely because they raise issues of basic principle which these successful instrumental techniques were not designed and, if they were wise, would not claim to settle. No man who engages at all in serious thought escapes making decisions upon such questions, and the feeling of independence of judgment in such matters is, in our propaganda-ridden culture, very largely an illusion. A member of what we optimistically call western civilization is as likely to be left free to make up his own mind on fundamental issues as he is to be allowed to walk the streets without trousers. Those who will not make a philosophy for themselves will have one thrust upon them, complete with voucher entitling the holder to a free gift of soap flakes. The *effective* choice is between swallowing the regurgitations of professional digesters and making instead some serious attempt to avail oneself of the accumulated wisdom of some two thousand years of systematic and self-critical thought on philosophical issues.

Part of the return to be expected from a revival of the teaching of philosophy in our universities might be a more explicit recognition of the *philosophical* character of the issues involved in such controversies as have been cited, with a corresponding gain in clarity and validity of thinking. But still more important than this enlargement of perspective would be an improvement in the degree of competence with which such questions are now handled.

There is a painful contrast between the skill, critical acumen, and scholarly conscience with which a writer will today discuss problems recognizably falling within the field of his special training and the sophomoric insouciance with which he will undertake, in all innocence and optimistic ignorance, to solve by an *ipse dixit* and a bare citation of concurring testimony, philosophical problems of at least equal importance and difficulty. Thus we have the unedifying spectacle of one writer lightly disposing of *all* abstractions as "mere words"; of another who supposes that to say causality "is the simple ineluctable notion of making something happen" is to refute Hume and illuminate the nature of causal

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process; of yet a third who believes that reference to "a value-cosmos which has the same kind of validity, or reality, for our thinking as the external physical world" is a fruitful contribution to the understanding of the social sciences.

Such current and demonstrable incompetence in the handling of philosophical problems is fostered by the prevalence of a simple-minded but influential superstition to the effect that philosophical thought needs neither special training nor special discipline. This unhappy condition in the world of science and letters will hardly be improved until training in philosophical method becomes recognized as an essential part of the education, not only of students proceeding to the post-graduate level, but of *all* students whom a university undertakes to educate.

For suggestions of practical measures of organization which would encourage the revival of philosophical teaching, some attention might well be paid to a recent and undeservedly neglected educational program. The recently published interim report of a committee, appointed by the British Association for the Advancement of Science in September 1941 "to consider the general policy and methods of university education," outlines a set of general principles which are then applied to the construction of courses of study designed to overcome "the tendency of university studies to split up into a growing number of separate specialisms more remarkable for their diversity than for any integrating principle other than 'simultaneity and juxtaposition.'"

Of particular relevance to the present discussion is the stress laid throughout upon the teaching of philosophy. The very title of the course of study is to be "Philosophy, Natural and Social"; every undergraduate is to be made to face "the need for working out a philosophy of Life"; and a series of lectures devoted to the sciences is to culminate in explicit instruction in "moral and political philosophy":

> The last year would link together all the previous work, whether in natural science or the humanities, and bring it into relation with the best philosophic thought of the western world, begun by Plato and Aristotle and continued by the greatest modern thinkers from Descartes to Whitehead. For the purpose of the present proposals, the chief problem of philosophy is not so much to explore ultimate reality as to con-

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struct in men's minds a working model that fits all kinds of human experience, not only of space and time but also of aesthetics, morals and religion.

To prevent possible misconception, it is well to add that not a single professional philosopher was included in the committee of distinguished scientists responsible for this statement.

The report is an inspiring illustration of the extent to which agreement upon a program for "reintegration of university work" is now possible among scholars of sufficient vision and good will.

The contributions that philosophy can make to postwar university education are not restricted to the liberalizing of the studies of undergraduates destined for teaching or research. Interest in philosophical issues is not confined to scholars — as witness the welcome offered to "popular philosophy." The man in the street, no less than the student in the laboratory or the scholar in the professorial chair, has need for training in the evaluation and pursuit of ideals, whether of knowledge or of conduct. He, too, desires "imagination, atmosphere and mental perspective" and will follow anybody who promises to supply them. It is ironic that this admirable appetite for philosophical insight is so often frustrated and fobbed off with shoddy substitutes. The multitude ask for wisdom and receive slogans, a smattering of learned terminology, and some apocryphal anecdotes about the great.

What is needed at the popular level of education (for the fifty or sixty per cent of students who never graduate and the many other young adolescents who never reach college) is, at a simplified level, an initiation into philosophical thinking very similar to that which has been urged above for the more advanced student. To be effective the discipline must start with the intellectual procedures and ethical standards actually operating in the experience of the learner. The level of critical insight ultimately reached will be determined by the patience, capacity, and persistence of the young philosopher; but the procedure is, in principle, no different from that which may be observed at work in all thinking which deserves to be called philosophical. The contribu-

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tions of philosophy to university education rest upon the unity of philosophical *method* and are in no way rendered invalid by any failure to reach philosophical resting points.

It is hardly to be supposed that the modest proposals here made for the revival of philosophical teaching in higher education will suffice to regenerate liberal education after the war. And it would be preposterous to urge that all present teaching of philosophy is adequate for the wider purposes of postwar university education. There is ample room for improvement in syllabus and text, in the scope and quality of instruction, if philosophy is to play its full part in an educational revival. But enough good work is already being done, if only for a limited number of students, to make the prospects of the larger program seem not unencouraging.

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Germany Can Be Re-educated

Joseph Katz

GLEICHSCHALTUNG, equalization, was the first point on the program of the National Socialist government as soon as it had firmly established itself in power. It implied the admission of the existence of a large variety of traditions, customs, and institutions which the new regime set out to destroy, to transform, and to unify. This process has remained characteristic of the whole history of National Socialist Germany. It can be divided into two principal phases: (1) a constant appeal to traditional ideals and preferences in order to conform to the national character as it had been shaped by its previous history and (2) the transformation of the national character by directing activity into new channels and changing traditional conceptions through re-education.

These two phases must be clearly distinguished if one is to avoid the common fallacy of regarding National Socialist Germany as a genuine and direct expression of the German character. An adequate analysis, however, will reveal both the extent of the transformation and the possibilities of re-direction. Such an analysis necessarily involves generalizations which, if used with caution, find their justification in the unifying features which the common language, traditions, and aspirations impose upon a nation. This process of unification has been deliberately enforced by the Nazi regime. One may hope for a better future, in which a variety that will make it more difficult to talk about *the* German will be encouraged.

But there are good and bad generalizations; an example of the latter sort is the frequent charge that Germany is an aggressor nation. Though this notion has become quite familiar now, it

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does not antedate the first World War by very many years. In 1871 it was possible to view the Germans in an entirely different light:

> In England, America and Germany, a regular advance is possible, because each man confides in his brothers. However great the superficial differences of opinion, there is at bottom a trust in the power of the deep forces of human nature to work out their salvation, and the minority is contented to bide its time. But in France, nothing of the sort; no one feels secure against what he considers evil, by any guarantee but force; and if his opponents get uppermost, he thinks all is forever lost. . . . The want of true sympathy in the French character, their love of external mechanical order, their satisfaction in police-regulations, their everlasting cry of "traitors," all point to it.

How strangely similar to the reproaches later leveled against Germany sound these lines of a private letter of William James, written under the immediate impression of that year's violent civil conflicts in France. How amusing to find the English, the Americans, and the Germans grouped together.

It is of course true that Germany (if one includes Prussia within this designation) has been involved in a series of wars since 1864, although never without the active cooperation of various groups in other countries. But these wars have followed the usual pattern of "expansive" wars which begin with reasonable claims and later are carried on by their own momentum. Other European countries have gone through similar stages, and tomorrow it may be somebody else's turn; for it is quite possible that Germany's aggressive energies are spent by now (a possibility which should be considered by those who regard her as the only obstacle to world peace). But it is only as long as the traditional concepts of politics prevail that such wars are inevitable.

The term "aggressor nation" is ordinarily used in connection with elaborate theories to establish the Germans as aggressors through the ages. The fantastic histories constructed for this purpose have about as much validity as those produced by the Germans to affirm their own superiority. They all constitute instances of that race thinking by which still too many contemporaries permit themselves to be blinded with regard to the *real* issues in society and politics.

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Anyone who has seriously tried to gain an adequate understanding of the German's psychological make-up has soon discovered how much this understanding hinges on the proper insight into one particular feature of the German character which has often been called its "idealism." John Dewey, whose analysis of German psychology is certainly not too favorable, has clearly recognized this fact. He says in the new Introduction (1942) to his *German Philosophy and Politics:*

> But unless we are to indulge in serious miscalculation of the sources of his [Hitler's] strength in Germany — *a miscalculation which will affect injuriously our peace policies* — we need to take account of the belief of the German people in the *ideal* qualities of his work, and give them, as far as they exist, full recognition. (Italics mine.)

Dewey bases this analysis mainly on an examination of Hitler's speeches. These speeches must in general be regarded as examples of what has been distinguished as the first phase of National Socialist re-education. They appeal chiefly to traditional beliefs, although constantly insisting that the true essence of Germany had been saved from corruption by the Nazi party.

To give a brief definition of German "idealism," one might say it is the ability of the German people to identify themselves with wider issues, even if this identification means an extreme subjugation of their individual interests. One should not be blinded to this fact by the record of the Nazi government and the very material gains it has been fighting for. The source of the party's strength comes from the fact that, assisted by a propaganda which carefully hid the uglier side of Nazi politics, it was able to awaken far nobler motives in the souls of the people. The Germans, if once roused to the proper pitch of enthusiasm, are quite willing to follow their leaders into the most desperate and self-destructive adventures. (In fact, they have done so.) Unquestionably the naïveness of such surrender, the uncritical readiness for emotional debauchery is a proper object of moral censure. It must be realized, however, that this "idealism" is not an evil force as such. Hitler could unleash its latent forces in one way. Tomorrow they may be re-directed in another way. The Germans of tomorrow might be among the most energetic mem-

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bers in a system of world-wide cooperation. One should not forget that this idealism is not without its element of greatness. It may turn out that many of Germany's vices are only virtues misguided.

If one attempts to reach a more complete understanding of the sources of this idealism, one peculiar characteristic stands out. The German's response to the world still is a *total* one. He has a word for it, *Weltanschauung*. He feels himself a part of a larger whole and believes he cannot properly direct his actions without taking into account this larger context. He is not discouraged by the fact that so comprehensive a synthesis must necessarily remain vague if approached by a mind untrained in exact philosophical analysis. He is always seeking for the *Sinn* (meaning) of life. Hence his preference for such broad topics as the destiny of civilizations. Once the myth that he is living in a decaying civilization gets hold of him, he cannot remain at ease. No matter that the end still is centuries away, his own life is not worth living so long as the larger life of his civilization is not made safe against decline. He does not feel these subjects to be remote; he does not view them with detachment. Because he feels this totality as immediately present and of utmost concern, his response is a highly emotional one, characterized, as the case may be, by anxiety or exultation.

This kind of thinking shows few traces of objective scientific analysis. Through its very subjectivity it tends to be highly individualized. It is, therefore, not surprising that the Germans like to think of themselves as individualists. In fact, it is perhaps harder for them than for other nations to achieve social integration. Under a system comparable to the Western parliamentary democracies, Germans tend to split up into a multitude of violently dissenting factions, as they did during the Weimar Republic. In this light must be interpreted a recent statement by propaganda minister Goebbels that if you permitted impartial reporting of the news in Germany, people would tend to believe the enemy's rather than their own government's version of the story. Some commentators have cheerfully accepted this as evidence for their belief that all you need is to give the Germans

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freedom of expression and everything will be all right. The truth is that to give them freedom of expression without re-education would at first encourage disintegrating tendencies among them, with the inevitable result that they would sooner or later seek relief from the emotional strain thus put upon them and be easy prey for irresponsible political adventurers.

The coupling of cultural individualism with eventual political unification is no paradox. The two belong together. When individual speculations concerned with larger issues are not given a proper sphere of reasonable expression in social actions, the repressed energies must one day break through in a more explosive manner. (Exactly such a release was provided by Hitler.) Free cooperation in times of emergency, as we have seen it practiced in England and in the United States, is yet unknown to the Germans. It needs more than sober-mindedness and common sense to bring them together. Goethe remarked not unjustly that the Germans taken individually are fine people, but taken as a mass quite miserable.

Though at times the various individual creeds may merge in or be absorbed by a unifying faith, it should be made entirely clear that initially they reveal all the characteristics of intense personal convictions. Each one is so obsessed with his own views that he will hardly tolerate any other. One conspicuous feature of democratic cooperation, the "give and take" type of discussion, is sadly underdeveloped even in everyday affairs. The intensity of individual convictions, therefore, is not relieved by a sense of humor. This severe seriousness is characteristic of the absolutistic kind of mind.

All these attributes of the single *individual* can be re-discovered on the political plane. The *unified nation* reveals the same lack of tolerance, the same zeal to impress its notions upon all others.

A European scholar expressed the following view in a recent interview: "Ah, the great danger of the German people! When they find out they can do something well, they want to do it regardless of morality, ethics, or anything." With the first part of this statement one can agree. Undoubtedly the desire to do something great is very characteristic of the Germans. But the

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second part of the statement repeats a widespread error. Precisely the opposite is true. Without a sense of moral justification the Germans cannot act at all. Their moral standards often may not stand up well under critical examination. But we must grant them that subjectively they are quite convinced of their right. Their lack of tolerance has a moral root, even though it is a perverted morality. They are convinced, as Dewey says of the Germans of the last war, that "for Germany to win is no selfish gain. It is an advantage to all nations." More recently they have developed the notion of a hierarchical order of races. But one should realize that even behind the mad ravings of some of their present leaders there is a real belief in the right of the stronger. They are not cynical when they say so. They actually believe in that *right.*

The indignation with which Germans view the familiar saying "right or wrong — my country" (usually attributed by them to the British) is typical. They do not believe that they could follow their country if it were wrong. Their only alternative is that their country must be always right. Yet in the British or American sincerity lies a higher moral worth. For a consciousness of acting wrongly — even for the sake of one's country — will eventually lead to the elimination of the injustice. Nevertheless, the kind of moral response manifested by the Germans affords a reason for hope. It must only be enlightened to become a positive force.

Another characteristic feature of the German *Weltanschauung* response is the presence of much excessive emotion. This points to various repressions and maladjustments. Notable among these is a failure to direct enthusiasm into more particular channels. However individualistic some features of the German character are, in other respects the German is not quite individualistic enough. He has a tendency to suppress the pleasures which do not seem to reach up to the cosmic level of his thought. His respect for duty and his reservations regarding happiness are familiar. Doing his duty makes him happy; for it means to him the performance of service to a super-individual power. His capacities for the individual kind of happiness being underdeveloped, he seems to attain happiness above all when he can

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participate in more comprehensive issues. What a strange spectacle for a grown-up man to sink down on his knees and thank God for the war! So Adolf Hitler describes his not untypical emotion at the outbreak of the first World War.

Germany's economic position in the era following the first World War has often been considered one of the main causes, if not *the* cause, of the discontent which finally ushered Hitler into power. Those who tend to overemphasize this aspect should keep in mind that after the inflation was overcome, Germany participated in the general prosperity, and that even the effects of the depression of 1929 were less disastrous there than in this country.

The *Weltanschauung* factors of the discontent should be given their full consideration. The Weimar democracy — for a variety of reasons — did not provide an emotional substitute for the *Kaiserreich*, nor did it inspire any ideals concerning Germany's contribution to the world. Having been brought up to identify his own happiness with that of a larger whole, the German looked with despair on what he considered the relegation of his nation to second rank. The prevalent weakness of constructive ideals was augmented by the remoteness of the parliamentary machine and the controversies of more than twenty political parties. Spengler's success was no accident. The feeling was widespread that a period of decline had set in. The end of Western civilization seemed in sight.

Because they were unable to see their problems in their true perspectives, but felt that a far-reaching crisis was taking place, this picture of decline seemed most plausible to the Germans after a lost war and in the absence of constructive ideals. What in other countries is perhaps remembered only as a cheerful, somewhat immature period of debunking, was viewed by the Germans with almost apocalyptic gloom.

But Germany still felt strong. She did not want to die. The obsession being of such a comprehensive nature, people longed for a comprehensive formula to solve their problem. Hitler provided the formula: *Race*. It was only through corruption that the Nordic race had lost some of its vitality. But a thoroughgoing

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purge would soon re-establish it. Above all, Hitler provided a release for emotions condemned to inactivity and despair. There was plenty of action in the various organizations of his party. He pledged to restore Germany's place in the world, and the promise of a new life kindled a new flame.

The more responsible parties had nothing similar to offer. Their leaders — some doctrinaires, others incapable for different reasons — sadly failed to realize the deep longings of their people. They tragically disappointed the millions — always a majority — who stood by them, hoping for a more genuine solution than the party of the storm troopers could provide.

But once in power the Nazis, making full use of all the means of modern propaganda and education, set out to persuade a still reluctant majority that theirs was the only way out of a situation which almost all had felt to be a dangerous crisis. Their ultimate aim was the thorough re-education of the whole nation, so that it would better fit into their ambitious long-range schemes. The success of this plan depended on the complete *isolation* of the German people. In this isolation the process of re-education, in both its phases, could go on comparatively unmolested. Those political actions of the regime most likely to offend traditional conceptions could be presented in an acceptable way by suppressing or falsifying some of the facts involved. The second phase of re-education, transformation of the national character, was also much facilitated by the elimination of outside criticism.

For the most part — although it is not always easy to make the division — Nazi propaganda has remained characteristic of the first phase of re-education. For example, while the concentration camps since the early days of Nazi rule were the proving grounds of brutality and political murder, reports to that effect were at once labeled "atrocity propaganda." It actually became a crime to repeat them. Instead, the government boasted of the peaceful and fair way in which it intended to solve all problems. When in November 1938, with the burning of the synagogues, a case of *open* violence took place, probably no one was more surprised than the German people, and many of them expressed their sympathy with the persecuted. The experiment was not repeated.

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Isolation has been almost indispensable in conditioning the people for war. Backed by elaborate preparation in the years of peace, Nazi propaganda has persistently tried to create the impression that Germany is fighting a defensive war. By skillful maneuvering of the facts it has been very successful in making it appear that in the present war Germany has always acted in self-defense after an act of aggression or actual declaration of war.

Domination of other peoples in occupied countries has either been denied by asserting the equality of conquered or allied nations, or justified by invoking a kind of feudal morality according to which Germany is the rightful master of an "inferior" nation. The uglier side of the picture remains hidden. To the listener in a democratic country, who has free access to all the news, it sounds like the height of arrogance when he hears a German propagandist speaking of Germany's mission and her concern for the freedom of other people. Yet in the artificial isolation of Germany this seems the true version of the story. Occasionally Nazi propagandists have made good use of that vicious moral complacency which excuses a misdeed by saying that others have done the same thing, but they hardly ever neglect to emphasize the Nazis' own relative "fairness" and "generosity."

The total effect of Nazi propaganda has been to weaken the Germans' capacity for political judgment to a point much below even the insufficient level of 1933. Hence, neither the changes which have taken place in Germany nor the difficulties of postwar reconstruction should be minimized. One must deal with people whose nationalism has been perverted and who are criminally misinformed about the character and the intention of other nations.

On the other hand, despite their frequent criticism of the German people for being so inept at understanding the new doctrines, the Nazi leaders realized (and occasionally said openly) that an effective transformation must be *gradual.* With this fact in mind, they made a constant appeal to traditional motives of conduct. The people, consequently, have been much less affected by the worst features of Nazism than we are prone to believe.

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Even today Germany's traditional framework of morals has remained sufficiently intact to afford a basis for a renewed strengthening and development of those convictions which are more or less a common possession of all people. Anyone who will glance through a few recent volumes of any German newspaper will find ample evidence for this thesis.

That the Nazi leaders could utilize these traditional sources of moral strength is the secret of the endurance of the German people in a fifth year of total war. Facing defeat, their leaders now appeal even more insistently to their sense of sacrifice. That they can invoke such an essentially noble motive is a ground for hope.

The need for a thoroughgoing reorientation of the German people is now almost universally recognized. Yet whether this regeneration is to come from within or from without is still a matter of debate. It seems clear that those who advocate leaving the job of re-education to the Germans themselves do so because they believe in the ultimate ability of the Germans to extricate themselves from their present calamity. Nevertheless, preparations ought to be made for the alternative eventuality. After eleven years of Nazi propaganda the Germans can less than ever be expected to realize what their true problems are. (One ought to take account of that peculiar German characteristic to look for a cosmological answer where perhaps a little more psychology would do the trick.) Without help from outside they will in all probability first be driven into despair, only to seek refuge eventually in the most hazardous ventures.

It is quite right to emphasize the fact that education is a people's own job — saying that if they can be *led* one way, they can also be *led* another. But in the present case one must not forget that the Germans have already been *led* one way; that is, they have been brought to such a state that they can hardly act without being led. Re-education, therefore, far from constituting an undue and unhealthy interference, will mean the *removal* of this kind of interference, which was brought upon the people in such a way that they remained largely unaware of it. It will mean bringing the Germans to a point from which they can go on by themselves.

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The interests of the German people justify foreign participation in its re-education; the interests of the other nations demand it equally strongly. In view of the shrinking globe and the new instruments of power and communication, world-wide planning has become inevitable. But this new form of political organization involves also a broadening of our concepts of morals and responsibility. Just as, within certain limits, the family or the group possesses the undisputed right to make its members conform to certain common standards, so today the nations of the earth assume a mutual responsibility for each other. Already, in terms of one's own security, one must make sure that neighbors recognize one's right to one's own way of life, however much it may differ from theirs.

The question, then, seems to be less whether a high degree of centralization of political power can be avoided, than how some such approaching centralization is best to be made compatible with individual variety. It should not, therefore, be the function of re-education to impress the ways and ideals of one nation upon another. Differences in traditions and customs should be given full consideration.

Above all, there should be recognition of the incommensurable element involved in the comparison of any two nations. Standards — of the sort which determine what constitutes "good" and "bad" in morals — cannot simply be transferred from one to the other. Each nation has its own individual scheme of values, on the basis of which distinctions achieve their full meaning. As there is now a definite tendency towards either the integration or suppression of these various schemes, freedom in the future will largely depend on whether the absolutistic is going to be replaced by the pluralistic kind of mind. A creative and free integration will largely depend upon the adoption of the principles of "education for variety," an education which does not try to repress constructive potentialities.

It is precisely this kind of education which Germany bitterly needs. But that will take time. It should be realized that *in the beginning* the Germans will want radical formulas; these should,

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perhaps even must, be provided for them. Simply to give them a parliamentary democracy while they want a *faith*, would be to invite disaster. They can only gradually be led out of that state of national and *Weltanschauung* excitement which has constituted the strength and weakness of National Socialist propaganda. Moreover, their regeneration may progress much faster if the new ideals appeal to their sense of greatness and heroism (just as, to use an analogy from psychology, a nervous man may be cured more rapidly by more absorbing experiences). As Professor Maritain has remarked recently, the Germans will even be ready to accept force, if it is for something great.

One of the first tasks in the process of regeneration will be a revitalization of Germany's past, which has undergone much falsification under the Nazi rule. The Nazis characteristically had little use for many of Germany's greatest writers and poets. The attempt, therefore, to trace any essential relations between Germany's great thinkers and Nazi ideology must be rejected. One may rather expect from these sources a purification of the German spirit.

Much is to be hoped from a full revelation to the German people of the many crimes committed in their name by the Nazi regime. If this is properly done, one should expect on the part of the Germans a reaction similar to that which people all over the world have shown with regard to the continuous Nazi atrocities. There will be other shocking experiences for them, once the artificial ignorance in which they have been purposefully kept is pierced. If the job of re-education is handled by competent men, they will know how to utilize these experiences.

A particular problem of great importance will be to provide a staff of adequate teachers for the schools, since perhaps a majority of Germany's present teachers are hardly fit for the tasks of re-education.

If it is asked who will be the educators, it seems to be natural to turn to science. That science has a major contribution to make is evident to anyone who is at all aware of the significant advances made in the fields of the social, political, and economic sciences, in individual and group psychology. The new instruments of

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knowledge and social control developed in these fields have brought some of the most important aspects of human behavior under the domain of intelligent inquiry. Moreover, to science the international cooperation which the reconstruction of Germany will involve is a matter of course. It is one of its fundamental principles to make full use of the results of collective experience and intelligence. Nevertheless, in view of a still wide diffusion of some of the crudest methods and convictions in practical politics, the question seems to be less what science can do than what it will be permitted to do.

The very comprehensiveness of the problem makes it imperative to examine and integrate as many different views as possible. Once its necessity has been established, the question of foreign participation in Germany's re-education becomes a *psychological* rather than a *moral* problem. Therefore, the real difficulty is to have this re-education executed in such a way as will least offend the national sensibilities of the German people.

For this reason German scientists should participate from the outset in the discussions of an international council of education — a council which should be created now and should consist of scientists and other competent persons from various fields. It might be possible to leave to the German members of such a council the eventual task of executing the plans of reconstruction.

This program is made more plausible by the presence of many German scientists in allied countries. To them the variety of "schemes of value" has become a matter of personal experience, and they should make excellent "officers of communication" to those true scientists still left in Germany.

The program outlined here will not interfere with the punishment of those Nazi criminals who have wantonly destroyed life at home and throughout Europe. But let us not react blindly and indiscriminately, like primitive men. Indiscriminate punishment will perpetuate hate, which may one day revert upon ourselves. In the problem of re-educating Germany lies a unique opportunity to replace hate with science. If we take advantage of this opportunity, we may open a new chapter in the history of politics, and a new era in the life of man.

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Will Babel Be Beaten?

Edward Larocque Tinker

IN AFRICA an English and an American soldier were discussing their postwar plans. The Britisher said, "The first thing I am going to do is to find a homely girl and marry her." "Hell!" exclaimed the Yank. "I wouldn't go a-huntin' for a *homely* one."

Nothing could better illustrate the dangers of misunderstanding that lurk in language, even when the speakers are supposed to be using the same tongue; for no average American realizes that when an Englishman talks of a homely woman he means the home-loving, domestic type, and not an ugly one. How much deeper and wider then are the impediments to mutual trust, how insuperable are the barriers to understanding, either between individuals or nations separated by a complete difference of language?

The Old Testament says that the curse of diversity of tongues was visited upon the world by the Lord because the descendants of Noah attempted to build in the land of Shinar a city that would pander their pride, and a tower that would reach to Heaven. Babel, named after that baleful and uncompleted piece of architecture, has reigned ever since, and helped by the atavistic qualities inherent in mankind, has made this a vale of tears and needless wars.

Philologists realizing this danger, like Jack have tried to slay the cruel giant by inventing various *lingua franca* that would serve as a bond to bring the nations of the world into closer comity and permit the easier interchange of knowledge. Even as early as 1661, an English schoolteacher, George Dalgarno, in *Ars Signoram* made an ingenious suggestion for a universal shorthand by dividing ideas into seventeen classes to be represented by the letters of the Latin alphabet plus two Greek characters. Seven years later, John Williams, Bishop of Chester, outlined a new universal

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medium for the use of savants in his "Essay towards a Real Character and a Philosopher's Language."

In modern times the first artificial idiom that achieved any success was Volapük, originated in 1880 by a German priest, J. M. Schleyer, but it was soon superseded by Esperanto, composed by Dr. L. Lamenhof, a Russian who was appalled by the discords among Poles, Jews, Germans, and his own people. To give them a common language by which to air their mutual grievances and so come to a better understanding, he worked out Esperanto and made the valuable discovery, upon which all later auxiliary tongues were based, that the vocabulary of every language is made up, not of a great number of separate and distinct root words, but rather of a relatively small number, whose power to express ideas is multiplied infinitely by compounding one with another, and by adding suffixes and prefixes. Therefore Dr. Lamenhof tried to extract from each language these minima of roots. By comparing those in various tongues having the same meaning, he attempted to evolve for his new auxiliary idiom basic root words that would have the greatest number of points of resemblance with the mother languages. Thus he hoped to capitalize on familiarity and make his Esperanto easily understandable to the majority. He, however, had had no systematic training as a philologist and his root words were not carefully constructed; so he failed to secure for them the maximum of internationality. This was Esperanto's weakness.

Many other attempts were made — Idiom Neutral, Pean'so Latino without Inflections, Esperanto II, Ido, Occidental, Novial, etc. — and in most cases each new effort to evolve an auxiliary language was born of a split-up of some previous one, just as the amoeba reproduces itself by dividing into two entities. In all, more than one hundred attempts have been described, and some five thousand books on the subject listed in Conturat and Leah's *Les Nouvelles Langues Internationales.*

The International Auxiliary Language Association (IALA) was organized in 1924 to bring order into this field. Research was centered at the University of Liverpool, where a body of competent philologists worked in close cooperation with some of the most

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eminent scholars all over the world in the fields of language, education, psychology, and sociology. They proceeded on the theory, not new, that in the major national languages of Europe there already existed the elements of a practical common tongue; so they began their task by comparing words of similar derivation in Latin, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, French, and English. As these tongues, especially the latter, had borrowed lavishly from Germanic and Slavic sources, the coverage was greater than the list would indicate. By this process root words were extracted that had the same meaning and etymological form in at least three of the language units drawn upon. A typical chart illustrates this method:

Latin	*Scandere*
Italian	*Scandere*
Spanish	*Escandir*
Portuguese	*Escander*
French	*Scander*
English	*Scan*

From this comparison the root word *scander/e* is scientifically selected and all possible combinations of the word with prefixes and suffixes are determined upon in the same manner.

The war interrupted this research in Liverpool; so both personnel and files were moved in 1940 to New York City, where the work is nearing its end with the development of a simple form of grammar (without exceptions or irregular verbs) to use with the vocabulary.

As the IALA has profited from the mistakes of previous attempts and has proceeded in strict accordance with the discoveries of the new science of Interlinguistics, it has produced a means of inter-racial communication of great simplicity, accurate internationality of roots, and fine melody of sound. The truth of this is testable by a comparison of the partial translations of Lincoln's Gettysburg Address in Esperanto and in the proposed IALA which appear at the end of the text.

A new contender — Basic English — threw its hat into the ring when Prime Minister Churchill advocated it as a secondary world language in his address at Harvard; and for this reason its

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version of Lincoln's speech has also been included. Basic English has for some years been the pet of the British Foreign Office, and if universally adopted between nations would save England millions of dollars and thousands of man hours on the translation of business letters. Of course similarity of tongue would make it advantageous for the United States as well, but it must not be forgotten that other nations would profit too. Brazil, for instance, could use it in her commercial relations with Spain and Hispanic America, while all the Latin American Republics might employ it with France, Germany, Italy, and England.

In the press a great deal of fun has been poked at Basic English, with its carefully chosen vocabulary of 850 words and its sixteen all-purpose verbs; and many ridiculous circumlocutions have been suggested. It is said that the only possible translation of Churchill's famous fighting phrase, "Blood, sweat, and tears" would be "Blood, face-water, and eye-water," which robs it of all dignity and emotional appeal. To speak of "crackers" as "twice cooked bread," or "lettuce" as "a green plant that grows in a head and has big leaves" seems bunglesome and awkward, but in spite of this most people will agree that Basic English offers the easiest, quickest, and most scientifically constructed method yet invented to obtain a workable use of our tongue.

Proposing it as an international auxiliary language is, however, another matter, for while it begins with the initial advantage of being the mother tongue of some 200 million people, and of being understood and spoken in some fashion by 600 million more (about one quarter of the world's inhabitants), it suffers from a grave disadvantage that might prevent the realization of the wish John Donne expressed in his poem, "My Will," that "mine English tongue" be bequeathed to "all foreigns." The drawback is that it may offend the nationalism of other peoples, and may be regarded as a subtle weapon of imperialism, and intellectual, cultural, and commercial penetration; a drawback not inherent in the proposed IALA — for most of the important tongues, except the Oriental, have contributed their quota to it.

It should be remembered that the sponsors of these idioms do not advocate them to replace any language now in use, but

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merely as an additional form of speech for international communication. Nevertheless, some of the more sensitive of our neighbors have regarded the propaganda for Basic English with a suspicious eye, and have questioned whether it was not part of a campaign to destroy their culture and to supplant Spanish and Portuguese by English, and thereby make it the universal language of this continent.

This is a needless fear, for as Maurice Barrès says, a tongue embodies "both the soil and the dead," and no new means of communication can ever supplant a national language with its deep roots in the affections and subconscious of those for whom it is a mother tongue, with its tang and symbolism, its overtones of meaning, and its harmonics of sentiment. To any governments that may harbor even the slightest suspicion of an Anglo-Yankee plot, there is one good and sufficient answer; for the spread of Spanish in the United States is far more likely to occur, and to reach greater proportions than the spread of English in Latin America — a fact that can be mathematically proved.

Never before in our country has there been such a universal avidity to learn Spanish, and many straws point to this phenomenal increase. Twenty-one of our important publishers are marketing Spanish grammars and improved methods of learning that language; in the New York office and the ten branches of one famous school 75 per cent of the students are studying Spanish; and when it became known that Vice-President Wallace was learning it too, 300 of the personnel of the Department of Agriculture bought books and went to work. A short time afterwards the Coordinator's office opened a school for intensive training in Spanish for officers of the Army and Navy and government employees whose duties put them in touch with Hispanic America; and a great magazine sponsored on a nation-wide hook-up a most efficient series of lessons in that beautiful tongue. In addition to this, women's clubs from coast to coast have organized courses, and other groups gather around phonographs to learn from lesson discs. Innumerable older people study with private teachers in preparation for travel after the war, while the number of students of Spanish in universities and even public schools has increased

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unbelievably, and now exceeds that of those who are taking French, the next most popular foreign language.

Complete figures giving the number of those in the United States who speak or are studying Spanish are impossible to obtain. All that can be done is to use available statistics supplemented by conservative estimates. In the following table this number reaches a total of 2,679,165 out of a population of 130,680,462.

THOSE SPEAKING OR STUDYING SPANISH IN THE UNITED STATES
1943

In public schools for 35 states and the District of Columbia. (*Figures from U. S. Office of Education.*)	519,249
For the remaining 13 states. (*Figure averaged.*)	284,702
Enrollment in 489 colleges and universities. (*From figures compiled each year by the textbook publishers, F. S. Crofts & Co.*)	68,697
Estimated 10% added to allow for Army and Navy students not included in the above figure	6,869
Berlitz, Cortina, Linguaphone, and other non-academic schools. (*Figures estimated.*)	50,000
Mexicans and citizens of Mexican descent in Southwest United States who speak Spanish. (*Statistical abstract of United States Census, 1941.*)	1,422,533
United States residents born in Spain. (*World Almanac, 1943.*)	47,707
United States residents born in Central and South America	36,408
United States residents from Philippines	40,000
North Americans who have learned Spanish. (*Figure estimated.*)	200,000
Total	2,679,165

This means one out of every forty-eight inhabitants of the United States is speaking or studying Spanish — a percentage far greater than that of those attempting English in all the Latin American countries put together.

These are facts, not propaganda, and this rapidly growing concern with the culture and language of our neighbors to the south is an augury of better understanding in the future.

Eventually Babel may be beaten by the adoption of some world-wide *lingua franca*, but the human race is allergic to change, and it may take generations to realize it. The two most promising contenders are Basic English and the artificial language proposed by IALA; both have advantages and disadvantages, and only time will tell which is the better. It is, of course, possible that some new and simpler means may be found. The most recent proposal is to be found in the final section of Frederick Bodmer's

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The Loom of Language, edited by Lancelot Hogben. At any rate, when an international auxiliary language is finally agreed upon by a sufficient number of nations to make it practical, the benefits to the world of tomorrow will be far beyond the power of the imagination of today.

Lincoln's Gettysburg Address

In Esperanto

La Parolado de Abraham Lincoln ĉe Gettysburg

Antaŭ okdek sep jaroj niaj prapatroj naskis en ĉi tiu kontinento novan nacion, konceptitan en libereco, kaj dediĉitan al la propono ke ĉiuj homoj estas kreataj egalaj.

Nun ni estas okupataj en granda milito civila por provi ĉu tiu ĉi nacio, ĉu ia nacio tiel konceptita kaj dediĉita, povas longe daŭri. Ni renkontiĝas sur granda batalkampo de tiu milito. Ni estas venintaj por dediĉi parton de tiu kampo kiel definitiva ripozejo por tiuj, kiuj donis siajn vivojn tie por ke tiu racio vivu. Estas tute konvena kaj deca ke ni faru tion.

In Proposed Language of IALA (Tentative Form)

Oratione de Lincoln in Gettysburg

Octanta et septem annos passate, nostre patres creaba in isti continente un novo natione, concipite in libertate et dedicate ad le propositione que omne homines son create equale.

Nunc nos son implicate in un grande guerra civile, que demonstrara si ille natione, aut qualcunque natione sic concipite et sic dedicate, pote longe durare. Nos son congregate in un grande campo de battallia de iste guerra. Nos son venite pro dedicare un portione de iste campo quam ultime site de quiete por illes que daba lor vita ad fine que iste natione pote vivere. Es perfectamente juste et appropriate que nos face iste.

In Basic English

Lincoln's Gettysburg Talk in Basic

Eighty-seven years back, our fathers gave birth on this land to a new nation, designed to be free and given to the theory that all men are to their Maker equal. Now we are in the middle of a great war among ourselves, testing if that nation, or any nation so designed and given to such a purpose, may long go on. We are come together on a great fighting field of that war. We are come together to put by a part of that field as a lasting resting place for those who here gave their blood that that nation might go on. It is very right that we do this.

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North American Prairie

J. E. Weaver

FROM the highlands of central Mexico across the entire United States and northward into Canada extends the great mid-continental prairie. On the east it is in contact with the deciduous forest. From this central mass the prairie extends westward beyond the Rocky Mountains across Wyoming into eastern Utah, and southwestward through northern New Mexico into northern Arizona. The Palouse Grasslands occurred in eastern Oregon and Washington, and other parts of the far Northwest. The Pacific Prairie was found in the Great Valley of California, and the Desert Plains Grassland still occupies much of southern Arizona and New Mexico and southwestern Texas. Together they constitute the Grassland or Prairie Formation, which is the most extensive and most varied of all the natural units of vegetation of the North American continent. In fact, native grassland formerly covered 38 per cent of the entire land surface of the United States.

Throughout the entire Prairie Formation the climate is more favorable to grasses than to trees or shrubs or, indeed, to any other type of vegetation. But within the vast range of grassland climate, marked differences exist in degrees of favorableness for growth. These are illustrated especially by differences in precipitation and relative rates of evaporation. Temperature and length of growing season are of less importance, for all the grasslands seem to lie well within summer temperature limits favorable to growth of the grass life-form. Since rainfall decreases and evaporation increases from east to west in the great mid-continental area, there have resulted several different kinds or associations of prairie, each limited in extent by a distinctly different minor grassland climate.

This vast prairie is in summer a sea of waving grasses. Except

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for its grandeur of expanse, and the wealth of splendid flowers, the prairie appears almost monotonous in the general uniformity of its cover. The absence of trees, the paucity of shrubs, the dominance of grasses, and a characteristic drought-enduring flora constitute its main features.

The recognition of the communities of which prairie is composed, the wonderful manner in which they are organized, the leading role played by dominant species, and the close adjustment of the various species to their physical environment and to each other have only recently been clearly comprehended, even by students of grassland.

In correlation with the amount of precipitation, grasses fall rather naturally into three groups: tall grasses such as big bluestem and slough grass which grow six to eight or more feet tall; mid grasses, like little bluestem and needle grass which are two to four feet in height; and short grasses as illustrated by buffalo grass and blue grama, whose heights range between 0.5 and 1.5 feet. Tall grasses occur in the wetter, eastern portions of the grassland where precipitation is thirty-five inches or more. They are also found westward on lowlands along streams where precipitation is supplemented by water running down the slopes, and in the general prairie area on sandhills where no water is lost by runoff and little is wasted by direct evaporation through the surface mulch of dry sand. Conversely, short grasses occur mostly in areas of low precipitation such as the Desert Plains Grassland of the far Southwest, and in the more arid portions of the main mass of grassland west of the hundredth meridian of longitude under a precipitation of fourteen to twenty-three inches. Under intermediate conditions, as over the uplands of Iowa and eastern Nebraska, mid grasses thrive. They intermingle with tall grasses on lower slopes but are shaded out by them in low wet soil. On the upland, in turn, short grasses are rarely found except on the steepest and driest hilltops, since they cannot endure the shade of closely spaced mid grasses. This results in a great body of mid grasses, commonly called True Prairie, extending eastward from Nebraska across Iowa and Illinois, but with Tall Grass Prairie not only on its eastern border but also dissecting it along the flood

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plains of the thousands of streams. The long axis of True Prairie lies north and south, from Canada to southern Oklahoma.

West of a broad transitional area, approximately along the hundredth meridian, precipitation becomes too light, with increased evaporation, to support a continuous stand of mid grasses, and they are more or less widely spaced. The open spaces between have long been claimed by an understory of buffalo grass, blue grama, or other short grasses. The result is a two-story prairie of short grass and mid grass intermixed, eight-inch blue grama for example under two-foot western wheat grass. This, the most massive association of all and the one that extends westward beyond the Rockies, is appropriately designated Mixed Prairie. Southward it reaches far into western Texas; on the north it stretches half way across Saskatchewan. This extensive Mixed Prairie association has been grazed so intensively that in most places over its drier western part the mid grasses have all but disappeared. Short grasses have increased greatly and such areas have been designated short-grass plains. Climatically they are mixed prairie. Only in the arid Southwest does the extremely low precipitation, coupled with a remarkably high rate of evaporation, exclude mid grass. The Desert Plains association is truly one of short grasses.

Prairie everywhere owes its character to the most abundant and important grasses. These are called dominants, since they largely control the abundance, vigor of growth, and often the very existence of other species. This control is exerted through their effects upon the water supply, light, and other factors of the environment. Most of the dominants are bunch-formers although some propagate by rhizomes, and rarely by stolons, to form a dense sod. Indeed, when one learns to recognize eight or ten dominants in any prairie association and becomes familiar with their life habits and the places in which they thrive, he is well on the way toward an understanding of grassland. This is true despite the fact that in True Prairie, for example, there are fifty or more other important but subdominant grasses and numerous other species.

The various groupings or types of grassland even within a single

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square mile are delimited by the presence in abundance of a single dominant or two or three dominant grasses on somewhat equal terms. Even the layman recognizes and understands what is meant by bluestem, slough grass, needle grass, or wheat grass prairie. In fact, the entire True Prairie from Minnesota to Missouri and from Kansas to Dakota has been found to contain in the main only six communities or types, three on lowland and three on upland.

In wet, poorly drained or waterlogged soil (in sloughs) occurs the tall, coarse slough grass, often in practically pure stands. Where the soil is wet in spring but later well drained and aerated, big bluestem holds forth in growth so tall and stands so dense that the herds of cattle of the early settlers were lost to view and could be found in evening only by the tinkling of the cowbell or the waving of the tops of the nine-foot bluestem or Indian grass, a phenomenon best observed from horseback. This was the famous bluestem corn land. But so thick and tough were the rhizomes and roots that the soil was always broken by preference only after grazing or repeated mowing had weakened the hold of the bluestem.

Between these types lies land too dry for good development of slough grass and too poorly aerated for big bluestem. Here thrives a community of tall switch grass or nodding wild rye or an intermixture of the two dominants. As in the other lowland types, the light is so greatly reduced by the tall, dense stands of the dominants (often only 1 per cent reaches the soil) that most other species are excluded. Of the three lowland types, however, big bluestem is by far the most extensive.

On upland, little bluestem usually dominates all but the driest slopes and hilltops. Here occurs needle grass, ripening in June not unlike a field of grain, or dense, nearly pure stands of prairie dropseed.

Grasses are well adapted to withstand the grazing that has been imposed upon them through thousands of years by herds of bison, elk, and other native animals, followed by the settlers' cattle. Near the base of the leaf there is a transverse intercalary zone of growth. Hence if the major portion of the leaf is cut or bitten off

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the part can readily be replaced; that is, the leaf can grow from the base until it reaches or surpasses its former size. Portions of stems of grasses as well as the leaves are also removed in grazing. Growth then takes place from buds produced in the axils of sheathing bases of the leaves at the lower end of the stems. Yet grasslands contain other kinds of plants — herbs that do not have the grass life-form. These are designated as forbs.

Forbs have accommodated themselves to the presence of grasses, as is shown by their seasonal activities and differences in height. The groups or societies of forbs and the degree of development of the grasses lend to each season a distinctly different appearance or aspect. The prairie presents four aspects, besides the more somber one of winter. The orderly succession of changes in the conspicuous features of the landscape proceeds with marked regularity.

In the earliest aspect, prevernal bloomers in the central prairie area appear in the warmer situations late in March or early in April. Among the most important are prairie cat's-foot, pasque flower, dog's-tooth violet, windflower, and fennel-leaved parsley. Needle grass, June grass, and nodding wild rye, all of northern extraction, are the only dominant grasses that have made considerable growth, but this is exceeded by the rapid development of bluegrass.

Late April introduces the vernal or spring aspect. The drab tone of winter is replaced by the greenish tinge of the new growth of grasses. The bluestems, of southern origin, appear about the middle of April, but on low ground and north slopes the colors of the dried vegetation of the preceding fall are not entirely obscured until the first week of May. This period initiates rapid growth of plants of summer and autumn as well as those of spring. In the ravines and moist soil the tall-growing, sawtooth sunflower, rosinweeds, tall goldenrod, and other late bloomers far outstrip the grasses in rate of growth. Strawberries, violet wood-sorrel, and prairie violet develop both foliage and flowers before the light is too much obscured by the rapidly growing grasses. The new shoots of blazing stars, goldenrods, sunflowers, and sage add tone to the landscape. In spring the prairies pulse with life.

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From the background of green show forth the gems of nature, manifold in variety, radiant in beauty, endless in recurrence — the societies of the vernal aspect. Among these are found blue-eyed grass, yellow star grass, puccoons, old-man-of-the-Platte, wild onions, vetches, false indigo, spiderworts, and many others, all enhancing the beauty of prairie in spring. The yellow of the golden parsnip, the bright pink or purple of the prairie phlox, the white masses of flowers of New Jersey tea, and the buffalo bean with its abundance of violet-purple flowers were all familiar sights to the pioneers of the Midwest.

The estival or summer aspect begins during the last week of May. By this time bluegrass has blossomed, the spikes of June grass are beginning to open, and needle grass is often in full bloom. The bluestems and other dominant grasses now cover the uplands with a deep foliage of green, and on the lowlands a height of twelve to eighteen inches has been attained. Many spring flowers are gone. Although certain vernal species continue to bloom, there is a distinct transition from spring to summer. The landscape is rapidly becoming redecorated with extensive societies of daisies, legumes, and the rose. Milfoil, daisy fleabane, pentstemons, larkspurs, wild flax, primroses, and purple coneflower adorn the hillsides. The stately plants and showy flowers of several species of wild lily add further variety to nature's varicolored garden.

Myriads of flowers now contribute to the great wealth of midsummer beauty. Among the most distinctive and widely spread societies of upland is that of prairie shoestring. Even before the abundant dark purple or indigo flowers begin to appear in June, the leaden-colored leaves give tone to the prairie. Profuse blossoming continues several weeks. The white and purple prairie clover, black-eyed Susan, tick trefoil, wild licorice, wild bergamot, and rosinweeds adorn the rolling hills and lowlands. The patterns are endlessly variable in detail. Each week new elements appear and old ones gradually decline as the season advances. The blooming of the sunflower and the yellowing of the inflorescences of the goldenrod portend the coming of fall. Again the scenes are shifted as the summer aspect gives way to the autumnal one.

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About the middle of July the prairie begins to change gradually in appearance. The graceful flower stalks and flowers of side-oats grama, which have been developing slowly, now appear in abundance for the first time. The spikes of nodding wild rye are nearing their height of blossoming. Soon the panicles of the switch grass on low ground begin to unfold, and isolated stalks of the bluestems overtop here and there the vegetative growth which is now nearly complete. The deep cover of grasses, although still green and vigorous, has passed from a stage of active development to one of approaching fruition and maturity.

Most of the estival plants have finished blooming; others are distinctly on the wane; but many continue into the autumnal aspect, at least for a time. Now the yellow and gold of the sunflower and rough oxeye intermingle with the purple of the blazing stars. Many species of goldenrods occur, sometimes in great masses, and all add much beauty to the autumnal landscape. Various rosinweeds dot the prairie where moisture is plentiful. Pleasing variety is added to the wealth of autumnal colors by the grayish white flowers of the false prairie boneset, the gray color of the prairie sage, and the black fruiting heads of lespedeza. Ironweeds, gentians, evening primroses, and many others are found. Numerous asters blossom from August until late fall, their colors varying from white or lavender to blue or purple.

During September and late fall, the great fields of fruiting grasses are beautiful to behold. On low ground scores of the forked inflorescences of big bluestem may occur on every square yard. The golden panicles of Indian grass glisten in the sun. The dried heads of nodding wild rye stand thickly in the ravines, while on uplands the open panicles of prairie dropseed are held aloft above the level of the foliage. About the first week in September many prairie grasses begin to lose their green color and slowly take on the red and bronze and golden tints of autumn. These gradually deepen until the landscape presents a color scheme rivaled in beauty and delicacy of painting only by the autumnal coloration of the great deciduous forests. Late October or November witnesses the waning and finally the death of the aerial parts of the forbs and grasses. Life in the prairie retreats underground.

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As a result of natural deterioration, augmented by the work of the wind and assisted by the weight of ice and snow, the once great cover of standing vegetation gradually returns to the surface of mother earth. Here it forms a protecting blanket for the living parts within and beneath the surface of the soil. But the prairie is still a living thing — though underground and dormant — awaiting only another summer to build anew the parts above the soil.

Plants are extremely crowded in their prairie home. Competition for light is often severe. Many forbs of early spring always remain near the surface of the soil. They make a rapid growth, flower and produce seed early, and thus complete the important work of the season before they are overshadowed by the grasses. Many species of late spring are likewise of low stature. But some, such as phlox and golden meadow parsnip, may exceed the grasses in height for a time. By midsummer nearly all are submerged to the general grass-level.

Plants which blossom during midsummer or fall have likewise started an early vigorous development. They grow rapidly. Week by week during early summer the struggle for light becomes more and more severe. Species of the summer aspect attain a moderate height, but autumnal blooming plants continue to elongate until they are mostly far above the grasses. Not one is found in the understory. Except for the gentian, all are conspicuous at or above the general grass-level and many reach a height of four to six feet or more.

Within the prairie cover one finds the conditions of life severe. Though the soil is rich and deep, water is frequently scarce and the plants sharing it are legion. Deficiency of water usually occurs when the air too is driest, the temperature high, and the prairie swept by desiccating winds.

The problem of an adequate water supply has been met by the development of deeply penetrating, usually widely branching, and thoroughly efficient root systems. The perennial life habitat is exhibited by all but a few of the prairie species. Hence a good absorbing system, once established, may be used throughout a long span of years. Moreover, the roots and other underground

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parts are storehouses of food during the long period of winter dormancy and account for the rapid growth of the plants following their early awakening in spring.

Layering in prairie also occurs in the soil. Roots of different species do not all draw upon the same soil level for their supplies of water and nutrients. Indeed the root habit is so fixed in this respect that the various species may be grouped according to the layer or layers of soil occupied by them. A small percentage of plants extend their roots only about 1.5 feet deep; moderately deeply rooted plants attain a depth of four to five feet. But about 65 per cent of prairie species extend their roots beyond five feet, maximum depths of eighteen to twenty-four feet sometimes being attained. Indeed, the bulk of the prairie is below and not above the surface of the soil.

Thus, the plan of life in the prairie is very diverse. So many species can exist together only by sharing the soil at different levels, by obtaining light at different heights, by making maximum demands for water and soil nutrients at different seasons of the year, by fitting into the niches unoccupied by other species, and by profiting by the incidental benefits afforded by the community of which they are a part.

The great stability of the prairie denotes a high degree of equilibrium between the vegetation and its habitat under the control of the existing climate. Large tracts of prairie, after ninety or more years of settlement, remain practically uninvaded by weeds except to the extent that trails or roads have been made through them or soil has been washed into the ravines from adjacent fields. With rare exceptions, they remain free from weeds, although surrounded for years by weedy fields and pastures.

Stability is increased by the long life of many prairie plants. The dominant bunch grasses, once established, retain their vitality for many years. The life span of certain forbs may extend over several decades. The prairie itself is an intricately constructed community. The climax vegetation is the outcome of thousands of years of sorting of species and adaptations to soil and climate. In fact it is more than this, for the vegetation has had no small part in determining the physical, chemical, and biological prop-

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erties of the soil. Prairie soil and prairie climate are in a sense an expression of one and the same thing. Indeed, the development of the soil and a parallel development of the plant cover have gone hand in hand from the beginning of rock weathering to the production of mature soil covered with climax prairie.

The constructional processes of soil development are due largely to the incorporation of plant parts and microorganisms among the mineral particles. Upon the fall of leaves and stems the organic matter of the plant, which has resulted from synthetic activity, is incorporated into the soil. These residues of grassland vegetation have returned more to the soil than the green plants have absorbed from it. Throughout their lives plants have synthesized many organic substances — sugars, starches, celluloses, fats, and proteins. Most of these materials return to the soil when the plant dies. This added organic matter produced by vegetation introduces a fundamental change. The substrate is no longer the former one of mineral matter alone, but now contains stored energy in the form of organic material, and a microflora of bacteria, fungi, and other organisms.

The amount of living organic materials in prairie soils is very great, often three to four tons an acre in a surface of four inches. Thus, when the farmer mows his prairie in fall and the yield is two to three tons of air-dry hay per acre, he is leaving a still larger amount of living plant material in the surface four inches of the meadow. Here roots are so abundant and their branches so very numerous and fine that their total length within a square yard of soil even to the four-inch depth is often twenty or more miles.

A reaction of major importance of the prairie cover occurs in breaking the force of beating rains. Even torrential downpours, so characteristic of prairie climate, reach the soil with the velocity of the raindrops much decreased. Not only is the force of the impact reduced, but the surface soil is not churned into a muddy suspension as is bare soil. The fine particles of soil remain in place and do not clog the pores as the water enters the soil. That the pores remain open is a chief reason for the great absorptive power of prairie soil. Runoff water in prairie is usually slight unless rains are heavy. The water that does run off is clear, since the soil

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is protected by litter and leaf mold and held firmly in place by the bases of the plants and their widely and deeply spreading root systems. Nor does erosion by wind occur where there is a natural cover of grass.

Grassland soils through untold centuries have been thoroughly protected by the unbroken mantle of prairie vegetation. The vegetation and soil are closely related, intimately mixed, and highly interdependent upon each other and upon the climate. Hence prairie is much more than land covered with grass. It is a slowly evolved, highly complex organic entity, centuries old. It approaches the eternal. Once destroyed, it can never be replaced by man.

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The Orient Does Not Exist

Meribeth E. Cameron

IT IS high time for Americans to discover that the Orient does not exist. For years we have believed that there was such a place and have held stubborn but amazingly inexact ideas about its characteristics and extent. Now we are at war. American troops have fought in Burma; American fliers have been in the air over Egypt, China, and Japan; Americans have been in combat in the waters and islands of the Pacific. We cannot afford any longer to entertain false conceptions about the peoples and the territories between Constantinople and Honolulu.

Some of our favorite notions about the Orient have worn the garb of romance. Somewhere East of Suez, (anywhere East of Suez) we have pictured lands with subtle silk-robed Sultans, charming veiled women decked in jewelry, slant-eyed men capable of fantastic and deadly intrigue, — the mysterious East. But combined with our fascinated curiosity there has also been a feeling of contempt for "Orientals." The luxury of the East has seemed to us to spring out of squalor and poverty, as lilies grow out of mud. We have regarded the mass of the population of the Orient as hardly human — hundreds of millions of creatures without education or aspiration. In short, the Orient has seemed to most Americans both glamorous and semi-barbarous.

What is wrong with our stock picture of the Orient? Why is it a major liability which must be thrown overboard if we are to win the war and the peace? Our standard ideas of Asia are marked by two cardinal errors or delusions. The first is the error of the uniformity of the Orient. The second, like unto it, is the error of the inferiority of the Orient. Occidentals believe that the peoples of the Orient are pretty much alike from one edge of Asia to another. We readily distinguish a German from a Frenchman, but we are woefully insensitive to the difference between, say, an Arab and a Chinese. For them the same term will serve; they are both

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"Orientals." It is true that both Germans and Frenchmen are Europeans, members of two sub-species of the European culture that embraces both them and many other national groups besides. But there is no such thing as a comparable Oriental culture of which Arabs and Mongols and Hindu and Chinese are the subgroups. Asia is simply a geographical expression. It contains Arab nomads, Japanese industrialists, Siberian hunters, and Singhalese tea-growers. Soviet communism, Chinese rationalism, Japanese chauvinism, Hindu asceticism, and Moslem fanaticism all exist within its borders. At least four major cultures inhabit parts of the continent. In the Levant, Mohammedan culture prevails, while Persia and Afghanistan are also Moslem lands but with a difference. India contains a great minority of Moslems, and Moslem faith and culture have spread into China and into the island regions southwest of the Asiatic continent.

Another great distinct civilization is the Hindu, which includes within its broad limits the majority of the peoples of India and which has helped to shape the culture of the area that significantly bears the name of Indo-China. On the Eastern edge of Asia lies the homeland of the Chinese way of life. In the course of its development it has spread through the vast region now known as China proper and has fertilized the cultures of Korea, Indo-China, and Japan. European culture, too, has its share of Asia. In the Asiatic lands of the Soviet Union it is propagated in its Russian revolutionary version. Japan, seceding from Chinese culture, has adopted occidental methods for use against the Occident. Everywhere in Asia have been little islands of Occidentals — business men, missionaries, civil servants — representatives of the great occidental expansion of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. What can it mean to call all of this the Orient, with the implication that it has enough unity to bear a single name?

Since Asia is demonstrably not a unity, why have we thought the Asiatic people alike? Because, little as they resemble each other, they all differ from us in one significant respect. If the peoples of the world are to be divided into two great groups, those groups should not be "Occidentals" and "Orientals," but the industrialized and unindustrialized. The Occident is the home-

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land of the industrial revolution. In the oriental lands, the industrial revolution came late and came under the aegis of the new imperialism which it had helped to create. These were the lands that were to be the "colonial supplements" of the new dispensation. They were to produce raw materials with cheap labor and to be markets for the output of the mills of Manchester and Massachusetts, but they were not to be allowed to grow into rivals of the already industrialized states. In the countries of the East the benefits of modern science penetrated only to a very limited extent and chiefly in coastal areas. Small wonder that casual occidental observers in Asia, or any other unindustrialized area, saw chiefly what was *not* there. They failed to understand old, deeply rooted humanistic cultures: they noted the absence of factories, street lighting, plumbing, and gun-boats.

In occidental eyes, then, the unindustrialized areas of the earth's surface were lumped together as "backward countries," inhabited by undifferentiated creatures called "natives," which, as Arnold Toynbee has pointed out in *A Study of History*, is the most invidious word in the vocabulary of the new imperialism. It was an easy step from regarding all Orientals as being alike to adjudging them all to be equally inferior to Occidentals — "lesser breeds without the law." Granted that in earlier periods of their development some of the Eastern peoples had achieved civilization of a sort, they had not continued to "progress" and now were stagnant and unchanging. Tennyson summed up this attitude in the familiar lines in "Locksley Hall":

> . . . Forward, forward let us range.
> Let the great world spin for ever down the ringing grooves of change.
> Thro' the shadow of the globe we sweep into the younger day:
> Better fifty years of Europe than a cycle of Cathay.

It was true and obvious that in the nineteenth century, industrialization and modern science gave the Occident an almost fatal advantage over the Orient. The Ottoman empire, the sick man of Europe, led a precarious existence under the shadow of predatory European powers. Britain extended her dominion in India. China was defeated in war by Europeans and subjected to various treaty restrictions upon her sovereignty. The lesser fry — states such as

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Afghanistan, Persia, Annam, Siam, and Burma — all felt the weight of European imperialism. Japan, alarmed for its safety, was the first of the Asiatic states to find a way of coping with the "White Peril." She resolved to fight fire with fire and to save herself from occidental control by becoming occidentalized. Small wonder that all these demonstrations of occidental power gave Occidentals a feeling of superiority to Orientals. But, alas, Occidentals, perhaps naturally, but certainly unfortunately, misjudged the source and essence of this superiority. It was a superiority of techniques: they chose to regard it as a superiority of "race." They went up and down the East as Lords of Creation, refusing to treat the brown and yellow peoples as equals. They convinced themselves, without too much difficulty, that white men were inherently capable of greater efficiency in government, greater effectiveness in war, greater productivity of goods, and even greater understanding of things moral and spiritual. By the law of the survival of the fittest, they felt entitled to "dominion over palm and pine." Of course, the new imperialism was not supposed to be a mere bald pursuit of profit. It had noble purposes, or so its apologists proclaimed. There was talk of "the white man's burden." Occidental administrators regarded themselves as trustees looking out for the interests of minors. Missionaries went out to carry the news of salvation to the heathen. In the course of the pursuit of the profits of empire and exploitation, the whites were not unwilling to be benevolent toward "the new-caught sullen peoples, half devil and half child" over whom Providence had allowed them to achieve control. It is impossible not to quote Kipling. In his writings is the essence of this side of the imperialism of pre-1914 — its Messianic feeling, its benevolence and sense of obligation, and its smugness.

Now in the 1940's, our heads are still full of odds and ends of these outworn nineteenth century ideas about the East. Most Occidentals still confound the oriental peoples with each other, and still believe doggedly in white superiority, though they are perhaps a little more defensive about the idea than were their grandfathers. They have freed themselves neither from ignorance of the East nor from that sense of superiority to the East which

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ignorance has nourished. But the time has come when these two errors — of the uniformity of the Orient and of its inferiority — must be eradicated from our minds. They are errors and, as such, undesirable in themselves. Our sense of superiority to colored peoples rests only too clearly on self-interest rather than on fact, and material "progress" is a characteristic of industrialism, not of race, as the Japanese have abundantly and harshly demonstrated. The peoples of Asia differ markedly from each other in cultural maturity, but our naïve assumption of our infinite superiority to all of them is false.

Moreover, this assumption is also extremely dangerous to us, for it may well be a major deterrent to our war effort. The leaders of the oriental peoples do not accept the occidental judgment of them as inferiors who should be kept in leading strings. They have learned nationalism from us, and they see "independence" and "self-determination" as ideas that provide sauce for the goose as well as for the gander. Japanese imperialism has now spread its control widely in Eastern Asia. It will call up the ghosts of all our errors of racial superiority to haunt us, and will try to convince Chinese and Annamese and Filipinos that Japan comes to save them from white domination and to lead them into a new era of "Asia for the Asiatics." This propaganda may have only limited success with Filipinos, for American willingness to agree to Philippine independence has convinced them that the Americans will again, in the future, deal fairly with them. But many of the peoples of Asia will be in no position to rebut this Japanese anti-white propaganda: only time can teach them that "Asia for the Asiatics" means "Asia for the Japanese" — the substitution of King Stork for King Log. In the meantime, Japanese charges that Britain and the United States preach but do not practise the democratic brotherhood of man, will have the deadly effectiveness of propaganda that is half truth.

We have committed many grave errors in our dealings with the hundreds of millions of inhabitants of Asia. Now we need their support and cooperation. We must learn all we can about them post haste, so that we may honestly declare to them our willingness to treat them in the future with intelligence and fairness.

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On the Couch

In a shack in the summer woods

Oscar Williams

To see my coat hanging there limp as a scarecrow's
On the back of the chair in the corner of the room,
Its agonized inertness eloquent of past motion,
Its very shapelessness a fugitive of the body's form —

To see me stretched out like a road from my chin
In the exhausting lifetime journey from here to there,
To see the trees looking in at the windows as I measure
The distance from the thought to the step in the air,

No one would know that events like a storm are raging,
A cloudburst of jungles, and snarl up the inner eye,
That man is a hunted animal caught in his own barrage,
In the plague of grasshopper gadgets out of the blue sky.

For the trees race backward fast on my right and left,
As my profile lunges forward, my fate is out gunning,
The black branches of leaves rush over my shoulders
Crashing, as I lie here, stretched out, running running.

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Can the Social Sciences Be Useful?

William Foote Whyte

AS OUR social and economic system grows ever more complex, it has become evident that its problems cannot be solved by the rule of thumb methods of politics and business-as-usual. Gone are the days when we could believe that the system, through the principles of competition and private initiative, was essentially self-regulating.

Whatever comes out of this war, we can be sure that there will be a growing need for men with specialized knowledge in the tangled field of human relations. Yet we find that, faced with an unparalleled social crisis, certain educators have the effrontery to advocate the continuation of social science courses on the grounds that they are "cultural subjects." A "cultural subject" is one to which society has attached a traditional value. No man can consider himself truly educated unless he has absorbed a certain quota of cultural courses. They are expected to make him think, feel, and act like other educated men. They may bolster his self-confidence and make indirect contributions to his capacities, but they do not provide him with the tools for the solution of practical problems. When there is a crying need for such tools in the social field, it is a sad commentary upon the state of the social sciences that their existence is defended in deference to their cultural content. Still, at the moment, that commentary is not unjustified.

It is getting late, but perhaps it is not yet too late for the social scientist to rise to the needs of his age. Perhaps we can point the way toward a revitalized social science if we first undertake to diagnose its present ills.

In the period of its early development, social science was scarcely distinguishable from social philosophy. The conservative social scientists evolved a highly elaborate theory designed to prove that the laissez-faire economic system conformed to the

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soundest principles yet discovered by man. Radicals, while accepting the conservative assumptions of man's materialistic motivation, built up an opposition theory, which, for symmetry, logical content, and profundity of terminology, rivaled the orthodox doctrines. "Social science" was then pursued by means of argumentation. The orthodox attacked the radicals for acceptance of false principles. The radicals attacked the conservatives for being apologists for the status quo.

Radical or conservative, the men who carried on this argument had much in common. Unlike men in the natural sciences, they did not base their conclusions upon systematic observation or experimentation. Like the philosophers, they built up elaborate systems of thought from certain unquestioned yet untested assumptions. The theories were of no direct practical use in solving problems because they bore no demonstrable relation to the human behavior they purportedly explained, but they provided weapons that were used to excite men's emotions and to aid them in attacking or defending the institutions of their society. Men and ideas were judged in terms of their conformity to accepted principles. They were praised or blamed. They were not objectively investigated.

Practical men of affairs and social scientists came to live in separate worlds. The practical man consulted the social scientist rarely except when he felt called upon to justify his functions to the public and needed a brushing up on the traditional philosophy. The social scientist remained in his university, endeavoring to become scientific by insulating himself from the concerns of everyday life and taking the "long run view" of the world. There were, it is true, social scientists who tried to learn their subjects in the field, but social sciences based upon systematic observation of human behavior have been painfully slow in developing. The scholars who have ventured into business or government have simply had to set their theories aside and adapt themselves to conditions as they found them. Consequently we have in the social sciences today, existing side by side, a body of theories and a mass of unformulated observations from experience. We know that the theories do not accord with

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observation or practical experience, but we continue to teach them because they are "cultural subjects."

The laissez-faire theories in their pure form have long since gone into the discard, but most social scientists today are still seeking to build theories while remaining in their universities, comfortably isolated from the world of human relations all around them.

Standards of scientific procedure have come to be increasingly stressed, but this has meant on the whole a resort to research in terms of mathematical and statistical operations. Many interesting and important facts about aggregates of people have been brought out in statistical work, but that statement itself reveals the limitations of the technique. Statistics must treat individuals as separate units; it is impossible through statistics to analyze the interrelations of individuals in their groups. To find practical solutions to problems of human adjustment in the organizations of our complex society, we must go out to observe what people do and to listen to what they say about their behavior. There is no other way.

The social scientist has been further handicapped by his love for large problems. There are, for example, any number of general treatises in the vital field of labor relations. We have textbook treatments of the history of labor organization, the legal and economic aspects of collective bargaining, and of standards of living — with sometimes philosophical discussions of Capitalism, Communism, and Fascism thrown in. We also have a number of studies of collective bargaining in particular industries, but even these are exceedingly broad and general in scope. How many studies can we name which describe in detail and analyze the behavior of particular workers in a particular plant? Roethlisberger and Dickson's *Management and the Worker*, a report upon fifteen years of experimentation and observation in a Western Electric plant, immediately comes to mind. Comparable studies could be enumerated on the fingers of one hand, and yet it is only through such case studies that we can build up a scientific grasp of labor relations and provide the data essential for effective action.

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To build a science of human relations, we must first brush aside the existing boundaries separating social fields. They are the product of a long historical development; their existence does not imply that they present the most useful delimitation of interests. At present we find the professor of economics leading his students through an analysis of a particular problem — up to a certain point, whereupon he says, "But here political considerations enter in, and they are the concern of the political scientist." Thereupon the subject is dropped. The government professor analyzes his problem — up to a certain point, whereupon he says, "But here economic considerations enter in, and they are the concern of the economist." And we hear no more of that one either.

For decades social scientists have been busily engaged in carrying problems to the boundaries of their disciplines and dropping them overboard at this point, expressing the pious wish that social scientists in other disciplines may pick up the problems there. But the other social scientists are concerned with their own problems according to the same procedure. And so we have developed along these boundaries an academic dumping ground, the great no-man's land of the social sciences. Some hardy scholars venture across these boundaries, trying to follow the problem wherever it leads them, but their colleagues on the other side lie in wait for such poachers and reprimand them for their ignorance of the language and customs.

This compartmentalization is based upon the implicit assumption that a man's behavior is distinct and separate and requires different types of analysis as he moves from business to political organization to church to social club. Of course, no one would defend this explicit statement, but the underlying assumption still maintains a strong influence over research and teaching.

Until recent years, it is only the social anthropologist who has been able to escape from this compartmentalization of human relations. Beginning with studies of primitive tribes that, in some cases, did not even have special economic and political organizations, apart from their kinship systems, it was impossible for him to work with such categories. Then, taking up

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more complex societies, including communities in our own country studied by W. Lloyd Warner and his associates, the anthropologist found that he could apply the same type of analysis to economic, political, and religious institutions, clubs and associations, and informal groupings. The sociologist has also recognized this possibility in his work. The analysis is based upon the premise, which sounds almost too obvious to discuss: that there are certain uniformities in the organization of human relations which hold regardless of the institution in which the behavior is observed. The problems of organizing for collective action, of utilizing leadership, of building morale are found in every organization, no matter what the activity in which it is engaged. Those terms sound vague, yet it is possible, if we observe behavior over a period of time, to reach conclusions of both theoretical and practical significance upon the problems of organization and control of human relations.

For research and teaching along these lines, we should need to select men who combine their academic training with rich experience and systematic observation outside the University. Specifically, we should want to hire men who had made studies as participant observers in primitive or civilized societies. To bring this emphasis to bear directly upon local problems, it would be advisable to choose men who had experience in political organizations, in industry and business, in labor organizations, in churches, in military organizations — but always adding the qualification that the individual has also been able to observe objectively the functioning of his organization. There are not many, but there are some such individuals available.

The University that set up an institute of human relations manned by men with such qualifications could perform two functions: it could furnish the community with men capable of making studies leading to adjustments in human relations, and it could train students to understand their society and act effectively in it.

The professor who can show results in this field will soon find that his services are in demand. No more will he be the long-haired academician with his feet in the clouds. He will have theories, yes, but they will be built up out of practical experience and observa-

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tion, and they will enable him to see important aspects of a situation that are hidden from the man who simply makes his intuitive adjustment to that situation. He will now be called upon to make studies of human relations in politics, industry, in rural society, and everywhere that groups of people face problems of adjustment. These demands will provide him with his opportunity for expanding his knowledge and developing his theories; they will also make him a better teacher, for few students will fail to respond to lectures and discussions that grow up directly out of the world around them.

The educational program for the students should also provide field experience. Students of human relations might spend the first four semesters in college study. The aim should be to utilize this period to provide the student with basic information upon the nature of society and to equip him with tools that will enable him to build upon that foundation through experience and observation.

The first essential in providing background information would be to present a comparative view of the societies of the world, from the simple primitive tribes to the complex civilized communities. Until the student is able to place data upon his own society in a comparative framework, he cannot be said to have gained any perspective or objectivity in that field. Such a cultivated emotional detachment is the first step toward understanding.

Following this introduction, he would take courses dealing in much more detail with the problems of organizing behavior in various societies, with special emphasis upon the institutions of this country. Finally, he would take a course in methods for the study of human relations. This would not be designed to give final answers to problems of methodology but rather to provide a few guide posts for the field experience upon which he would shortly embark.

The first problem of the student is to gain access to his data, to learn to adjust to people so that he can gain a position of participant observer in their communities and institutions. Previous field workers have acquired a wealth of experience upon this

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problem of adjustment, and this experience would provide the first guides to the student. Students must then learn how to interview so as to gain from informants the fullest possible expression of thoughts and feelings upon the events of their lives. They must learn to withhold ethical judgments so that, instead of praising or blaming, they can explain. They must also learn to observe behavior — what sort of observations to make and how to retain them in memory until they have a chance to write notes.

These procedures cannot be learned in the classroom. The student cannot know whether he can handle the tools until he must rely upon them in field work.

Shall we, then, turn out upon society a band of untried students poking into other people's affairs? It is clear that this must not be done. The institute of human relations will be saddled with the responsibility for the mistakes of the students it sends into the field. It must therefore require that its student field workers meet certain standards. Intelligence and application in human relations courses are taken for granted as qualifications, but the courses must be organized so as to provide tests of the students' capacities to do independent field work. They can be encouraged to analyze their own home communities in the light of their comparative study courses. They can be required to find their own opportunities for practice in interviewing and observation. While the regular courses would not permit full-time practice, nevertheless every student who leads a normal social life has ample opportunity to sharpen his powers of observation and increase his skill in interviewing. The reporting and analyzing of notes of this nature would indicate the student's capacity to carry on a job of field observation.

The students who had so proved themselves would be ready to step out into the field. For one term, they would step into jobs — jobs of any nature, just so long as the jobs provided them with opportunities for associating with and observing the behavior of the men in their organizations. The student could become a member of a labor gang in industry or fit into some minor position in business. He might act as secretary to a union leader or to a ward politician. He would serve as an assistant to the

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county agricultural agent. He might work as an apprentice teacher in a school system. Any number of other possibilities could be worked out — providing the institute, through the work of its staff members, had gained the confidence of the community so that community leaders could see the benefits to be gained from making such openings available to students.

In this new situation, the student first must learn to adjust himself socially. Then, as he goes along performing the tasks required of him, he should also attempt to gain a systematic picture of the functioning of his organization.

There is nothing new in requiring the student to work while going through college. Thousands of students have worked their way through on summer or part-time jobs. However, such jobs have been taken primarily for one purpose: to finance the student's education. The experience gained has in most cases remained upon the unanalyzed, intuitive level. College courses have been filed in separate mental compartments. It is only in a few fields that some institutions have required field work as a prerequisite for graduation.

The system of apprenticeship or secretaryship for students is not entirely new either. Some students of the Harvard Graduate School of Public Administration have, as a part of their studies, taken jobs as secretaries to government administrators. This is a step in the right direction, but why must we limit our experience in government to what we can gain from men who are considered administrators, not politicians, and are therefore respectable people? The student who could attach himself to a ward politician and study him in his personal relations, seeking neither to praise nor to blame him but only to understand him and his organization, would tap a rich field of experience that is almost unexplored.

Learning his way about in the field, the student would develop himself as he never could in library and classroom. He would formulate questions for investigation before he entered the field, yet he would inevitably find himself forced to reformulate some questions, add new ones, and discard others that seemed insignificant when confronted by his field experience. No longer could

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he be satisfied with academic theories which might otherwise comfort him with the prestige of erudition. His theories would be tested according to their utility in providing him with guideposts through the new world of his exploration.

The student would take along with him the background of his courses in human relations and seek to apply that background to an understanding of the day-to-day events he observed. When he returned to the university, he would demand that his courses further equip him to handle the problems of his field experience. He would join in a seminar of those who had just returned from the field. Within the limits set by the necessity of maintaining a confidential relationship with the organizations in which they had worked, students and teachers could pool their experience in discussions. By placing his experience and observations against the comparative background furnished by others the student would be able to gain perspective upon his own study at the same time that it enlarged his knowledge of his society. He might then continue through two more college semesters in which his human relations courses would be built out of his own observations, those of his teachers, and those of other field workers. He might then be given one more semester in the field. The field work and study experience of the first seven semesters should enable him to make a more penetrating analysis of human relations in his second experience. He should then return for a semester or two in order to fit his experiences and observations into some pattern that would equip him not only for practical action, but would also give him the theoretical foundation necessary in order to grasp the essential elements of problems of human adjustment.

I am advocating that the student be taught to approach his society in much the same manner that the anthropologist uses in studying a primitive tribe. This does not mean, of course, that he undertake to study the interrelation of all our complex institutions as he would with a simple, small, primitive group. It means primarily that he learn to observe and analyze so that he can learn further for himself — obtain an understanding of a few sectors of his society from firsthand observation, and a more general view of the rest from seminar discussions and his readings.

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What would be gained from such a program?

All good teachers discover that students learn faster and work harder when they can see a direct connection between their studies and the world around them. When we cease to consider the social sciences as primarily "cultural subjects" and build them out of experience and observation, students will develop capacities that now seem far beyond them.

Such a program would contribute toward developing a science of human relations upon the only possible foundation for such a science: the observation of human relations. It should also furnish a systematic picture of the society in which the students live. By so doing, it will enable them to act more effectively and to understand the actions of others.

More specifically, such a program would train men for jobs as personnel workers in business and industry, as social workers, and as teachers, research men, and consultants on human relations. The process of learning to adjust to people and gain their confidence in the field would equip students with some of the requisites for leadership in business, politics, and labor organization.

Men with such training will be greatly in demand in the world of tomorrow. At present, we have too many men in positions of responsibility who can only tackle a problem by blaming somebody else for its existence. The conventional way of handling problems of human relations resembles a witch-hunt. When the adjustment between individuals or groups breaks down, somebody must bear the blame, and many social scientists now waste their efforts in trying to fix personal responsibility for conditions inherent in the system of human relations. When we develop men who are able to look at such conflicts without indulging in punitive thinking, then we shall also have developed men who are able to lay the groundwork for a more effective organization of human cooperation.

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On the Road to Truth

Robert Withington

THE word *criticism* means judgment, and should, of course, connote more than the "adverse judgment" with which it is too often connected. In order to pass judgment on a work of art — in literature, music, painting, or any other form of æsthetic expression — one must have some criterion. What this value may be, varies from age to age; but the student of literary criticism should become familiar with each; he may well study the past history of criticism (if possible, in the words of the critics who are themselves artists) that he may distinguish between the permanent and the ephemeral, and decide what applies to all art, and to that of our own day. It is not enough for the individual to know *what* he likes; he should know *why* he likes it; and the question then arises whether he *ought* to like something he does not; and how far a critic has the right to impose a standard on his contemporaries, and on posterity. One may not, perhaps, argue that inherently red has an advantage over green; but one may seek to persuade others that, for a given purpose, or in certain circumstances, one color is preferable to the other.

A critic is often inclined to become dogmatic — to lay down the law, so to speak — an attitude which can best be combatted by asking questions, as wise teachers have done since the days of Socrates. As the element of taste does enter criticism, we must remember the old saying *de gustibus non est disputandum* and recognize that certain matters cannot be argued. How far we can allow taste to guide our likes and dislikes is, perhaps, a matter for argument.

Hazlitt defines the word *taste* as "nothing but sensibility to the different degrees and kinds of excellence in the works of art or nature," and continues: "Genius is the power of producing excellence: taste is the power of perceiving the excellence thus produced in its several sorts and degrees, with all their force,

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refinement, distinctions, and connections." One wonders if there is any other foundation for æsthetics — any absolute standard of Beauty, to which all ages can, or should, subscribe. In this connection, it is interesting to inquire whether taste can be developed in an individual — whether a love of poetry or music or painting can be instilled, with an understanding of an art. Our college courses in the appreciation of the arts aim to develop understanding, with a hope, perhaps, of giving birth to a love for them — which, of course, can exist without full understanding. There is much to think about in Hazlitt's question:

> In hearing the accompaniment in the *Messiah* of angels' voices to the shepherds keeping watch at night, who has the most taste and delicacy, he who listens in silent rapture to the silver sounds, as they rise in sweetness and soften into distance, drawing the soul from earth to heaven, and making it partaker of the music of the spheres, or he who remains deaf to the summons, and remarks that it is an allegorical conceit? Which would Händel have been most pleased with, the man who was seen standing at the performance of the Coronation anthem in Westminster Abbey, with his face bathed in tears, and mingling "the drops which sacred joy had engendered" with that ocean of circling sound, or with him who sat with frigid, critical aspect, his heart untouched and his looks unaltered as the marble statue on the wall?

There is little doubt as to how a musician, perhaps even a musicologist, would reply to these inquiries; and his answer might throw light on the further questions as to whether we can put a work into a pigeon-hole once and for all, and whether it is desirable to do so. There can be no "orthodox" ranking of artists — an opinion dictated by the teacher and accepted by the student — which will hold for all time. As long as the appeal of Händel makes itself felt, the *Messiah* will hold its place as a masterpiece.

Again Hazlitt writes:

> The highest taste is shown in habitual sensibility to the greatest beauties; the most general taste is shown in a perception of the greatest variety of excellence. Many people admire Milton, and as many admire Pope, while there are but few who have any relish for both. Almost all disputes on this subject arise not so much from false, as from confined, taste. We suppose that only one thing can have merit; and that, if we allow it to anything else, we deprive the favourite object of our critical faith of the honours due to it.

This attitude is one which deserves consideration, although we

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are perhaps less inclined than were Hazlitt's contemporaries to confine our taste to one artist, or one *genre*.

In one of his essays, Stevenson says: "Man is a creature who lives not upon bread alone, but principally by catchwords." Literary criticism has gathered unto itself many such; but the terms do not mean the same in each succeeding age, or to every critic who uses them, even in the same period. We must know what we understand by *romantic* and *classic*, and ask whether either rules out the *realistic*. If we consider "the Good," "the Beautiful," and "the True" synonymous terms, we must be able to define them. We must know what we mean by *poetry*, and whether we use *art* itself with a single definition in mind. When De Quincey distinguishes between the "literature of knowledge" and the "literature of power" — the expository and the creative — he makes a valid distinction in a wide field, and perhaps readers of Carlyle should divide poetry from philosophy, or examine the connection of both with life and reality. Some might consider a poet one who expresses life, whether in rhymes or in deeds; for Carlyle, a poet becomes a hero when he shows transcendental truth in his life.

II

Some critics, like Carlyle, refuse to consider "literature of amusement" as literature in the legitimate sense, implying that true literature must be "serious." Carlyle would have the poet a "seer" — inspired prophet, exalted above the rest of his kind — as readers of *Heroes and Hero-Worship* will recall. The idea of poetry as a higher philosophy did not originate with Carlyle; it goes back to the Italian Renaissance, Horace, and Aristotle; but the connection between art and morals (terms which must be defined) is one for careful consideration. There are some critics who believe that great literature must teach a lesson, that the "message" is the chief thing; and others who subordinate matter to manner, the whole to the parts. There are those who consider coherence an integral ingredient of all artistic expression; there are others who have a perhaps exalted idea of Gertrude Stein and James Joyce, and spend much time in analyzing their lucubra-

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tions that they may interpret these writers to a less cultured public. "Take care of the sense," said Lewis Carroll, "and the sounds will take care of themselves." He changes one letter, and we find the older economic proverb valuable literary criticism. A weight of explanatory notes will destroy any pleasure in an author, and *Sejanus*, *Chantecler*, and the lithic, if not Freudian, authors mentioned, inevitably suffer from such an incubus.

The question of "morals" would suggest the "Sunday-school" books, which are surely not the highest form of art; but they may lead to a discussion of the relationship between art and propaganda. We can ask ourselves if the latter are mutually exclusive terms. Since we find the universal in the national and the local, all great art comes to us through restricted channels. A modern school, which rates an artist according to his sympathy with the proletariat, may not be justified in its position; but posterity will decide. We may assume that the anti-Axis novels and plays of our day will not have the same appeal to the public of a hundred years hence; *modern* is not necessarily a complimentary adjective. If the greatest writers are not for an age but for all time, those who deal only with subjects of contemporary interest cannot expect immortality.

III

Questions arise which the critic will have to answer; he must investigate the basis for technical rules, and explain how far "academic" criticism, which lays stress on the "rules," may hinder or help the creator. If the latter disregards rules successfully, he may lead to the formulation of other rules; and whether the rules are imposed by the critic, or established by the creative artist, they exist primarily to make the creation comprehensible to the appreciator. For creation certainly antedates criticism; the artist must produce before the critic can react to the product. But we may ask how far the critic stimulates artistic production; and, if critics disagree (which happens frequently), who is to decide where the right lies — if there be a "right"? It is common to find in literary history the verdict of contemporaries set aside by posterity; works condemned turn out to be masterpieces, or

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works hailed as great find a quick oblivion, or works long forgotten are rediscovered. It is impossible to foretell how contemporary authors will be regarded in two or three hundred years, or what value there is for one age in the criticism produced by the past. The connection between vogue, popularity, and greatness must be studied.

"It is not, then, solely from the greatest number of voices," writes Hazlitt, "but from the opinion of the greatest number of well-informed minds, that we can establish, if not an absolute standard, at least a comparative scale, of taste. Certainly, it can hardly be doubted that the greater the number of persons of strong natural sensibility, or love for any art, and who have paid the closest attention to it, who agree in their admiration of any work of art, the higher do its pretensions rise to classical taste and intrinsic beauty. In this way, as the opinion of a thousand good judges may outweigh that of nearly all the rest of the world, so there may be one individual among them whose opinion may outweigh that of the other nine hundred and ninety-nine; that is, one of a still stronger and more refined perception of beauty than all the rest. . . ."

And here we may note that if, at a given time, there are more readers for a Martin Tupper or an Edgar Guest than for the *Iliad* or the Book of Job, in the long run the appreciators of the latter will outnumber the appreciators of the former. In one period the vitality of an inferior work may be greater; but in the long run the greater work will have more life — and the vitality can measure the value. Hazlitt's one individual must be impotent if he cannot persuade the nine hundred and ninety-nine to accept his appreciation; and when he dies, his appreciation will die with him.

We may also ask if criticism should confine itself to interpretative and constructive judgment — if a critic should be as much a "creator" in his way as the artist is, in his. And this might also lead us to ask whether the creative artist has a special authority if he turns critic, or whether we are all critics when we appreciate, as, according to Carlyle, we are poets when we read a poem well. It may be assumed that an artist appeals to the artistic in his

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audience; and perhaps he can guide the latter to greater appreciation without the help of a critic — for an interpreter is not always necessary between creator and appreciator. But if the interpreter — the actor, the pianist, singer, conductor, or teacher, for instance — does function, he includes a bit of the critic, as well as the artist.

We must distinguish between the "critic" and the "reviewer." The public certainly should not reserve its decision concerning a work of art until the authoritative critic has spoken. One wishes he could say that the critic was never wrong, never prejudiced, never unfair — that the reviewer never played a favorite. One wonders whether the aim of the latter is to help the artist or to guide the reader, and, if the former, whether the creator should be given advice publicly, or whether a deceased author's book should be reviewed. Both literary and dramatic critics have damned books and plays that have succeeded — at least for a time; and that leads to a consideration of the relative values of critic and public.

It has been said that every critic should seek an answer to three questions: What is the artist trying to do? How well does he succeed in doing it? Was his aim worth while? We should certainly not assume, for example, that every writer of melodrama had aimed at tragedy and failed — that every writer of verse had tried unsuccessfully to write poetry. We should take into account the times and the public, as we do the sincerity and ability of the artist. We can ask whether he writes for fame, for money — to give entertainment or instruction; whether he is concerned primarily with an idea, and distorts the characters or the events of his novel or his play to emphasize this idea. We can ask whether he is esoteric, to the point of being incomprehensible; whether he will always appeal to a limited, if distinguished, group; if he is a faddist, or a satirist — if he attacks the manners and customs of his time only, and so becomes "dated." He may have an historical importance, because of the influence he exerts on his successors — which, of course, can hardly be forecast by his contemporaries. If he distorts truth in order to gain followers for his theories; if he blinds intellect by his play on the emotions, the

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critic can call attention to it. If he appeals to the emotions through the intellect, if he has a permanent interest — in so far as the critic can judge — this also will be noted.

Heredity and environment have their share in shaping an artist (and a critic), but the secret of his genius may elude us, despite our efforts to capture it through the study of history and biography. A knowledge of national psychology as well as of historical periods helps to throw light on a poet's mind, but his individuality exists in them, not wholly because of them. We notice many differences between contemporary compatriots, which the age and the nation do not explain, as we note differences between children of the same family, with the same heredity and environment. Zoology and sociology may explain what they can; but Oliver Twist remains a problem.

The sympathy which a critic should have for his subject makes him not only sensitive to art, but a philosopher of no mean ability; he must grasp merits as well as faults, and interpret them to sensibilities less keen than his. He must know human nature, if he is to deal with the advantageous dress which the artist gives it.

IV

Whether a critic can ever utter a final opinion is, perhaps, a moot point. A scholar has recently voiced [1] an aspect of criticism which demands attention:

> The flexibility of meaning of great books and poems is a delightful and, indeed, a strange thing that one discovers in reading. Literature which is lasting, chameleonlike clothes itself in the spirit of the age in which it is read. This characteristic is perhaps the chief one that distinguishes books which live from second-rate ones that stiffly and narrowly reflect their own times and die when their age has passed.
>
> Furthermore, the true meaning of a book may sometimes lie latent for years covered over with false impressions, prejudices, even malicious interpretations born at the time it was written or later. Finally, long after it was first published, the mists of misunderstanding melt away, and the book appears in its real significance. . . .

Certainly it may be suggested that valuable criticism is the product of a man's maturity. The youthful critic — likely to lack tolerance and understanding — is prone to find fault rather than

[1] F. M. Darnall, "Old Wine in New Bottles," *South Atlantic Quarterly*, January 1942 (xli, 1), 53 ff.

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to search for merit. He may — like the academician — overstress the virtue of "rules," and be blind to greater, if less orthodox, glories. He may publish some clever reviews at which he will shudder in later years, squirming at the injustices which a facile pen has committed. He is tempted to become positive and dogmatic — a fault which age does not always cure — to simplify the complex, to be one-sided, pedantic, and unkind.

Just as there is no orthodox interpretation of a Shakespearean character, as the late Professor Kittredge has pointed out, so there is, perhaps, no orthodox judgment of any work of art of permanent value, unless it be based on truth to humanity — on what, in Carlyle's phrase, is revealed "in the inmost Spirit of Man." The theatrical and the claptrap may move one generation, but they become ridiculous in the next — and the critic who has lauded them shares in the ridicule they evoke. If, however, his praise is sincere and honest, the scorn of the future may be transmuted to pity.

"Opinion in good men," so Stevenson quotes Milton, "is but knowledge in the making." And he continues: "All opinions, properly so called, are stages on the road to truth. . . . This does not apply to formulae got by rote, which are stages on the road to nowhere but second childhood and the grave. To have a catchword in your mouth is not the same thing as to have made one for yourself. There are too many of these catchwords in the world for people to rap out upon you like an oath and by way of argument. They have a currency as intellectual counters; and many respectable persons pay their way with nothing else." In another essay, Stevenson remarks that "all literature, from Job and Omar Khayyám to Thomas Carlyle and Walt Whitman, is but an attempt to look upon the human state with such largeness of view as shall enable us to rise from the consideration of living to the Definition of Life." This definition critics can, perhaps, help us make, as they interpret the art which reflects nature.

V

One school would regard criticism as a "science," while another regards it as almost intuitive — allowing, as may seem necessary,

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for the historical and biographical approaches which no critic should entirely ignore. An actor once complained that a critic passed judgment on his performance without being able himself to act. "That is true," replied the journalist, "and I can't lay an egg; but I know a good one when I see it." Perhaps one does not have to study zoology in order to be able to tell a good egg from a bad one; but it is desirable to have at least some knowledge of the difficulties of an art to appreciate how they have been overcome, or why they have not been. If the artist has to appeal to a public in large part untrained, which reacts to him — criticizing him, in its way — almost intuitively, the critic can help both creator and appreciator, showing the latter virtues which he had not grasped, the reason for a pleasure which he enjoyed but could not explain. It so happens that many creators are themselves critics, and their words about their own work and that of fellow creators may be listened to with particular attention, for their interpretations have a peculiar value. If the latter are not, strictly speaking, scientific, they will come from those who know whereof they speak, and that is the ultimate meaning of *scio*.

Courses in versification will not necessarily produce poets, but they may add to the undergraduates' appreciation of poetry, as courses in literary history broaden students, or as a knowledge of the early drama enriches the background of contemporary theater-goers. A familiarity with the principles of literary criticism will produce a public well-fitted to pass judgment on the literature of the present, as well as of the past, and to enjoy it more fully. Without becoming dogmatic, the student will learn to explain his appreciation, which may be broadened, if not, indeed, created; he will know why he likes a certain work, and can judge the things he reads by standards which have a solid foundation. He will not like all things equally well; he will develop discrimination — and his commendation, as well as his condemnation, will not be casual. The qualities of a true critic — insight, knowledge, sympathy, detachment, and judgment — can be produced by study as well as by experience; and with these the judge is no mere expositor; he can show (as many have shown) the spark of a creative genius.

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VI

If critic turned creator is matched by creator turned critic, the line between interpreter and appreciator is no less often crossed. The appreciator may not publish his appreciation, or voice his interpretation before a large public; it may take the form of a discussion of the current best seller at a dinner table, or of some classic in the bosom of his family. But his interpretation may become, in its way, a creation as worthy of attention, perchance, as critical essays written for publication, which naturally reach a wider audience. We can hear only at second-hand the reports of the informal *dicta* of a Johnson or a Coleridge; often in conversation a spark will fire a train of thought with a brilliance surpassing that of the carefully prepared essay.

The three functions — of creator, interpreter, and appreciator — are really not so distinct as habit has made us regard them; if each has its inspiration, each is dependent on the other two. The creator speaks to the appreciator (it is a sorry spectacle to see the appreciation confined to the creator!), and often no intermediary is necessary. The best seller of today may be forgotten in five years, as that of a lustrum ago is unknown now; but the books that have stood the test of time have a vitality which makes them classics, at least for us. It is useless for the critic to point out their strength and beauty to those who cannot see them; it is well for us to find the beauty and strength for ourselves. In this lies the art of literary criticism. If (we may well say to ourselves) it be not great for me, what care I how great it be?

VII

When, in January 1918, Professor Lowes gave the lectures which were later published as *Convention and Revolt in Poetry*, he explained why he treated a subject which seemed remote from the life and thought of his wartime audience. But time has showed that his material was more lasting than the emotions of the period, and readers have since found his apology valid.

> Why talk about poetry with a world in flames? . . . In these days when a shattered world is to be made over, and moulded into form and

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comeliness again, whatever throws into relief the eternal validity of the balance between freedom and restraint, of the belief that the individual is most truly individual when he builds, as individual, upon that which is common to him and to his kind — whatever lays stress on that, is of constructive worth. And that is why, in spite of what has seemed at times the almost unbearable triviality of all but one overpowering fact, I have still ventured to deal with poetry.

For is not poetry "the incarnation of the spirit of a people"? And criticism explains more than the poetic; it interprets literature. *Convention and Revolt in Poetry* is surely one of the most significant books of criticism produced this century (in America, at any rate). It has a permanent value which became the more obvious as memory of the last war faded, and which may well uphold us in the darker days which have dawned on us again. Wars have come and gone since before the beginning of what we call civilization — cultures have been born and have died — tyrants have ruled and been turned to clay; fashions in art have risen and receded, but certain fundamentals in literature and morals remain. These it is the business of the critic to expound.

> . . . The Past
> Lives still in us — has made us what we are;
> We change the Past, and pass the Present on,
> Living, when we are gone, in other lives
> That knew ours not; and no man can escape
> The immortality which all must share,
> Though each be soon forgotten.

The second World War has affected us, in our daily life, much more than did the first World War; but the standards raised by the critics are the more important — for it is essential that we keep our sense of proportion, the more our souls are tried. We find it hard to realize that there will come a time when students will know this war only through the lips of their grandparents or the pages of history textbooks; but the questions discussed by the great critics will have a permanent appeal. Every age will be concerned with the Definition of Life; literature seeks to interpret life; and the opinions of the critics concerning that interpretation will remain stages on the road to truth.

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FROM THE WORKSHOP

Oxford Revisited

J. A. W. Bennett

OXFORD, the wits used to say before the war, is now only the Latin quarter of Cowley (where Lord Nuffield was then making cars and a fortune). And when the blitz brought thousands of Cockneys to throng the pavements of the High and camp in cinemas along the Botley Road, Ivor Brown wrote in bitter parody of Carlyle that the university of these days is a collection of bookies. After four years of exile, I came back almost fearfully.

And changes jumped to the eye. A training plane was circling incessantly over the stations, which looked dowdier than ever. The busses going to Carfax were manned by trousered girls: in the Cornmarket we waited whilst a trail of armored cars rumbled by. The same security rules that have erased place-names from the tiniest village memorials "in proud and loving memory of the men of . . . ," killed in an earlier war, have blotted the central word in the gold lettered sign that advertises to every visitor "Coopers's . . . Marmalade." Once any scout worth his salt saw to it that a jar with this same label adorned the breakfast table of every undergraduate under his care. Now women servants have invaded the staircases, have even penetrated Senior Common Rooms; marmalade is like a word out of a dim mythology — rarer than the monthly egg that a kind colleague pressed on me under the subterfuge that it was in part my property. The roses in the Fellows' Garden have given place to a hen-run, and the lawns to a reservoir.

Gone with the roses and the marmalade are the leisured times when you put your name down for hall two hours before dinner; the cook wanted at least a day's notice — and more than one college doubled up with a neighbor. The bar at the Mitre closed at 9:30, and half a pint of beer was the most to be got there. In one of the few restaurants still open women dons and heads of houses waited patiently for tea and scones. H. W. G. alone had somehow managed to retain prewar ritual, and toasted buns for me by his own fire.

His was one of the few familiar faces. My contemporaries were scattered through a dozen Ministries, a score of Missions, on Italian battlefields, and in German *Oflags*. Some will not again hear Great Tom strike his hundred and one at nine, or see the fritillaries in Magdalen meadow. Of the teachers that are left, one lectures on Kant in the morning, on condition that he gives instruction on the Tank in the afternoon. A gray-haired editor of Sappho bikes in dignity down

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Catte Street, armed with rake and hoe, en route to his victory garden (*Anglice* allotment). A famous lexicographer combines the offices of Fellow, Reader, Librarian, Examiner. Term was over, and the few undergraduates in residence were there for fire-watching, to keep ready the hoses that serpentine their way across quadrangles and dangle from chapel roofs and machicolations. In a few months, or at most a year, they will be adding to the din that nightly covers the sky as the bombers intermittently drone eastward.

Mixed on the streets with the Air Force blue is khaki — British and American. In the Cornmarket the queues outside the baker's have slopped over into the crowded streets by early morning. Yet still the city has soundless pockets of quiet. In the elms by Dead Man's Walk the wood pigeons still moan through the summer afternoon: "Don't cry Sal-ly, don't cry Sal-ly, don't cry." At Merton double summer time made it possible to play bowls in the back quad after dinner. And just as parts of Hampstead and Soho, now free from cars and klaxons, have taken on the self-containedness of villages again, so North Oxford's side streets, bowered in chestnuts and hollyhocks, have recovered a gentle Edwardian grace; and farmers in for market still walk the Giler. Here are the faces, beards, and clothes of yesteryear, no more changed than the bookshelves in Blackwell's.

The books are fewer. *War and Peace* is in stock again, but not *Alice in Wonderland* or *Ulysses;* it is no longer safe to wait for reviews before buying new works. I leafed through Cornford's *Plato;* the dedication was squeezed in below the preface, paper restrictions no longer allowing it the dignity of a separate page.

But the Broad is more than bookshops. In the new Bodleian the University and the Red Cross try as best they can to provide for the students who, instead of hurrying to lectures in scarf and gown or punting up to Water Eaton, are living in enforced idleness behind German barbed wire, disciplined by Kommandants instead of proctors. From this place thousands of textbooks go out every month: here tutors set and mark papers, and even award diplomas, for students they have never seen. And at the other end of the street, Balliol is given over to officers and men (with a sprinkling of women) from the armies of America, Canada, and Great Britain. There is no doling out of culture, no tourist talks on the "charm" of Oxford, but discussion and disputation as eager and unrestrained as ever Duns Scotus heard in St. Mary's six centuries ago. Here there is a chance for thoughtful soldiers of all the Allies to meet on common ground and breathe, if not great draughts, at least a few lungfuls, of intellectual day.

The train slipped across the river, beyond the gas works, and the base and bricky skirt spread out towards Hinksey. There was a glimpse of Iffley unchanged since Newman saw it from another train, of a nest of cygnets in a backwater, a Salter's steamer placidly passing through

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Reading to Abingdon, Sandford, Stanton St. John. The fields, where they were not striped into runways, were yellow and white with corn or chalky soil. Above London the balloons floated like enormous silver porpoises. Amongst the crumbled brick and twisted pipes of the city's ruins was flourishing willow-herb as bright as the ragged-robin by the Cherwell:

And fragrant weeds and flowering
copses dress
The bones of desolation's nakedness.

Passing the empty counters of the railway bookstores I remembered the last words of the Steward of Common Room: "It was nice of you to bring us chocolate. But what we really long for is *The New Yorker*."

Lexicography At Chicago

M. M. Mathews

IN THE summer of 1925 Professor William A. Craigie, later Sir William, joined the professorial staff of the English department at the University of Chicago with the announced plan in mind of preparing a dictionary of American English.

Since this dictionary was to be one on historical principles, Sir William's first concern was to secure as much material as possible for the work. This material, consisting of excerpts, carefully identified as to date, authorship, source, etc., was gathered by students who enrolled in Sir William's class in lexicography, and by those at a distance who volunteered to read and make excerpts from works available to them.

In the beginning Sir William had in mind the making of a dictionary as general as the recorded speech of Americans since Jamestown and Plymouth would justify, but after several years spent in collecting material with the end by no means in sight, he sharply restricted the scope of his undertaking. He decided to include only those terms that originated in this country and those that have greater currency here than elsewhere. Along with these he proposed to include "every word denoting something which has a real connection with the development of the country and the history of its people."

The editing of the material brought together by Sir William and his students and helpers began in 1933. By September, 1936, the first fascicle or "part" of approximately 126 pages was available for distribution to those who had subscribed for the dictionary and for sale to those who had not. The last of the twenty parts of the work came off the press in the autumn of 1943, and the entire dictionary, bound in four handsome volumes, five parts to the volume, was announced as completed on January 25, 1944. Within ten days from its publishing date the entire edition of 2,500

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sets was sold out. The outlook for a later printing is nebulous at present.

By the time the editing of the *Dictionary of American English*, as it is called, was well under way it was pointed out to the University of Chicago Press that a considerably smaller and much more moderately priced dictionary should be prepared to include only those words and meanings of words that have originated in this country. A dictionary of this type was taken under advisement by the proper authorities at the Press and its desirability agreed upon. As soon as the *DAE* was off their hands, the Press lost no time in making it possible for one of the members of Sir William's staff to proceed with the preparation of this dictionary of Americanisms.

It will doubtless surprise those who have had no occasion to look into the matter to learn something of the extent and nature of that element in the everyday speech of Americans that may be called "native." For some reason or reasons these additions to the common vocabulary have not been investigated as fully as they might be. The field is such a fruitful one, however, that it may confidently be expected that the project now going forward at Chicago will bring to light linguistic information of a new and surprising nature.

For instance, the first use so far found of the letters of the English alphabet as grade marks was at Augustana College, Rock Island, Illinois, in 1877. So far as the practice there is concerned, it was clearly a continuation of a Swedish custom. Many of the first professors at Augustana came from Sweden, and had in the Swedish elementary schools become familiar with the use of letters as grade marks.

Almighty dollar must be credited to Washington Irving, who used it first in a story, "The Creole Village," in 1836. The originator of the adjective *anaesthetic* was Doctor Oliver Wendell Holmes, who first suggested it in a letter in 1846. A Harvard professor of medicine, Doctor Reginald Heber Fitz, coined the word *appendicitis* in 1886. *Bee*, an occasion when neighbors come together for the performance of some task in common, as in *husking bee*, owes its existence to the Dutch settlers in this country. Likewise *block*, as it is used especially by city dwellers, got its start here because of the existence in Dutch of the cognate term "blok," in the sense of a group of closely adjacent houses — just the sense which *block* first had in this new American use.

No example of *blurb*, as in "a publisher's blurb," can be found before Gelett Burgess used this strictly American creation in 1907. *Campus* was first used at Princeton as early as 1774. *Class*, as it is used in academic circles, originated at Harvard, and from the evidence so far brought together is a shortening of the Latin word "classis" at first used there for what soon came to be referred to as a *class*.

Demoralize has had a surprising history. Noah Webster added the term to the English language in 1794 in a pamphlet he wrote on the subject of the French Revolution. He put it in his first dictionary, that of 1806, and later, in his much more voluminous

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work of 1828, he included along with it an etymology. He said he had made it by using the common prefix "de-" before "moral" or "moralize."

As long as Webster lived this etymology was never changed, but in 1854 the publishers of his dictionary secured the services of a distinguished German philologist, Dr. C. A. F. Mahn, to revise and bring up to date the Webster etymologies. Dr. Mahn did not know that in dealing with *demoralize* he had to do with the etymology made by the man who made the word in the first place. He etymologized the word as coming from the French "démoraliser," an error that appeared first in the 1864 Webster and one that has not only been retained in all subsequent editions of the dictionary but also has been copied into all other dictionaries of the English language, including the great *Oxford English Dictionary*.

Again, *penstemon*, the genus name of a well-known flower, was first written by a remarkable naturalist, John Mitchell, at his home near Urbana, Virginia, in 1741. Those who came after Mitchell inserted an etymologically desirable -t- into his word, spelling it *pentstemon*, but people continue to pronounce it the way Mitchell first wrote it though the form with the inserted -t- is the one found in dictionaries.

Words such as the ones mentioned here will be the only ones included in the forthcoming Chicago dictionary. The work will in all likelihood possess interest of a sort not found in other lexicographical reference books.

An Interview with Joseph Conrad

Translated by
Bronislas A. Jezierski[1]

I HAD to wait a long time for a chance to interview England's greatest contemporary writer. Perhaps I have only my nationality to thank that I was able to reach my fellow-countryman, whose name is at present on the lips of the entire English literary world, at all.

It was a magnificent London afternoon. As the golden sunrays were piercing the dity gray veil which wreathed the city and its buildings, on one of the busiest corners of the Strand, not far from the Thames, I met the only Pole in England who was a close friend of the Conrads.

"You are lucky; this will be the first interview that Conrad has ever granted. American and French journalists are writing and have written a lot about Conrad, without ever having seen him personally, to say nothing of ever having had an interview."

[1] This article is Mr. Jezierski's translation of an article by M. Drabowski which appeared in the *Tygodnik Illustrowany* (the *Illustrated Weekly*), a Polish literary magazine, in the issue of April 18, 1914. So far as Mr. Jezierski and the editor are able to discover, it has never before been translated into English.

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"I am very fortunate that it was you who made this interview possible. I am not mistaken, I believe, in assuming that the fact that I am a Pole induced Conrad to accept your proposal."

"Without doubt."

The door opened. Before us stood a well-knit man in an old-fashioned coat. His face, furrowed by ocean winds, was uncommonly virile. The rough outlines of his features immediately struck the eye. He had the glance of a sea-wolf — eyes which had penetrated the depths of the soul of the earth and the sea.

The soul of the earth is the sea. If man has arisen from dust and will return to dust, then the earth could only have come from the sea and will some day lose itself in it again. Conrad once wrote of de Maupassant that he was one of those of whom it is said:

"Nous autres que séduit la terre." But it can be said of only a very few, like Conrad: "Nous autres que séduit la mer."

His beard was close-cropped and wedge-shaped, his left hand visibly strained by disease. But his whole figure brought to mind a sturdy oak tree battered by storms.

For a few moments we went through the formalities of introduction. "I am a little late, am I not? But I found it difficult to tear myself away. A new weekly is about to appear and I was conferring about it with a few friends."

He spoke in perfect Polish, without a trace of an accent. "So you want to learn something about my life? Hm . . . I have nothing to hide, and I have told and will tell everything. That is, everything except the nonsense and the gossip for which journalists are so avid. Yes, everything except some murder or other, or imprisonment, as Baudelaire says." Conrad laughed heartily over this.

"I left Poland when I was seventeen years old. My secret ambition was to reach the sea and enter the British navy. This was in the fifth form of St. Anne's Gymnasium in Cracow. After my father's death I was prepared by my tutor. I finally convinced my uncle, who was my guardian, to let me have my way. He let me go, but to France, to Marseille. I still longed to go to England, but I didn't know a word of the English language. My uncle wanted me to study English for at least a year. But I didn't want to. I wanted nothing else but to go to sea. I visited Vienna and Zurich. In Pfefikon, I stayed for a day with Oksza-Orzechowski. You undoubtedly know that he was an agent of the National Government in Constantinople. After the year '63 he settled down in Switzerland. It was there that I last spoke my mother tongue for a long, long time. They laughed at me there, saying: 'You want to be a sailor, but do you have a knife in your pocket?' I didn't have one, knowing nothing about such things. Later it came out: 'Vous savez, c'est vrai, à chaque matelot son couteau.'

"Well, on the next day, I went through Lyons on my way to Marseille. There I met Chodzko, the son of Ignace Chodzko and a sailor himself, who introduced me to several others. I entered the French navy. Everything was running smoothly.

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"I enjoyed myself, and lived high. It is true, in those times, I even smuggled contraband of war, arms, and ammunition for the Carlists, to the shores of Spain. 'Voilà un polonais qui sait faire ce métier,' said the French. Life was colorful and happy.

"But I had to begin thinking of a means of livelihood. Only an Englishman could be a real sailor. I went to London. 'You will have to pay for lessons,' my friends in Marseille told me. What of it? I paid. And a short while later I left London for the Sea of Azov on a wheat boat. Passing through Constantinople, I saw the tents of the Russian army of San Stefano. It was a strange feeling. Yes, my father . . . aha, I was young, everything was so interesting, the sea called." Conrad fell into silence.

I understood that speaking to me now was Jozef Konrad Korzeniowski, whose father. . . . I understood that in the soul of this Polish expatriot hidden forces were at work — that spiritually he was ours.

The stern silence lasted several minutes. I had the impression of a sea quieting after a storm, of huge billows subsiding.

"Ask me questions," said Conrad, sharply interrupting the silence. Ask questions? It was hard to ask questions at such a time.

"I cannot and do not want to ask you trivial questions like a green newspaperman. I would like to talk with you as with a fellow-countryman. I would like to hear you express beautiful and forceful thoughts. I would like to find Poland's immortality in the English writer."

"Poland's immortality? Who of us has any doubt of it? English critics — since I am an English writer — when speaking of me, always add that there is in me something incomprehensible, inexplicable, unfathomable. You alone can understand what they mean by 'incomprehensible.' That is the quality of being a Pole. It is that Polish quality which I injected into my writings, having gained it from Mickiewicz and Slowacki. My father used to read *Pan Tadeusz* aloud to me and had me read it aloud also — not merely once or twice. I preferred *Konrad Wallenrod* and *Grazyna*. Later I came to like Slowacki. Do you know why I preferred Slowacki? 'Il est l'âme de toute la Pologne, lui.'

"I remember others also. Old, silver-haired Pol, with his long drooping whiskers, used to come to see my father. I remember him well.

"I am not acquainted with the newer literature. I am ashamed of the fact, and I confess it with humility — I do not know it. Now my sickness interferes with my writing. Two months of the year are wasted. 70,000 words is no joke. And on top of that I write slowly, very slowly. I am three-quarters of the way through a novel and I haven't got a title for it yet."

Another pause. Conrad's changeable figure trembled. His cigarette went out.

"The devil with this cigarette. You see, sir," he continued a moment later, "I am a sailor. C'est mon métier. I look upon the sea as the field of my work. Here on land I cannot feel attracted to the sea. Only when one is on board ship does one feel it. The

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shore is out of sight. I cannot look at the sea from the shore and admire it 'd'une manière littéraire.' It is mine. You see, I belong to the last of the romantics, don't you think?"

"Pardon me, but do you know Mickiewicz's *Crimean Sonnets?* Did you find in them any elements of your own creativeness?"

"No! Definitely no! Mickiewicz had a stormy lake before him. The sea is found only on the way to Singapore and to Australia. It is true, however, that you are amazed that I, a Pole, became a sailor and a captain of a ship. A certain insignificant boy from an outlying part of the world, from a fallen country, from a certain Poland, became a captain in the English Merchant Marine through his own efforts. Do you follow me?

"I would enjoy reliving those moments in Singapore when the command of a ship was turned over to me for the first time as captain. It was a German boat. Ha, ha, ha! A German boat had to recognize me as master. Do you understand, sir? The Prussians recognize us — render us our dues.

"I have an inexpressible hatred for the Prussians and their policy of extermination, and for their contempt of us. Least hated by me is Austria. It is a fact, a strange one, that I have a sympathy for that country, something indeed curious. As a boy I was even going to enter the school for marine cadets at Pola."

"The vice-admiral of the Austrian Navy is a Pole," said my friend. Conrad's eyes lit up.

"That covers that. Ask some questions. Why don't you ask me something?"

"Very well, I will really start asking now. Do you like the translations of your works into Polish?"

"Oh, no! Not only that they have never asked me for my permission to translate my works, but they translate them so badly into Polish. It is real agony for me to read in my native tongue a work written in English. I know Polish and French very well. The Polish translations are so careless, so false to the meaning of the text. As long as the French are without blame, the Polish will always irritate me. For instance, this excerpt from a Lwow daily. Horrible, simply horrible! They have even translated 'Malayan' as 'small Negro.'"

"Do you ever intend to revisit Poland? At present there is a trend toward direct contact between Poland and the genius of the West. Recently E. Verhaeren gave a reading in Warsaw."

"I have been in Poland twice. If it were not for this gout, I would willingly go. It is my fatherland. It is a fact that no two peoples on earth are exactly alike. Something attracts me to Poland. In my travels, I met a Polish sailor only once, a Varsavian in the Sailor's Home at the port of London. He came to me in the evening, and was about to sail away the next day at dawn. We shook hands. They complained, he said, that he was dull and sullen at sea. I never saw him again."

A mournful silence ensued.

"I would like a few more words from you. Would you care to say any-

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thing to your fellow-countrymen, as one of them? I know that great men can say much in one word, in one sentence."

"Oh, yes, I see what you want. I am to say great words! Great words? I am not a great man, nor am I a prophet. There burns within me, however, your immortal flame. True, it is small and insignificant, a mere 'lueur,' but it is there and it is enduring. When I ponder over the present world situation, c'est affreux. I cannot bring myself to think of Poland, because often such thoughts are bitter, painful, torturing. I could not live. The English have a word with which they say farewell: 'Good luck.'

"I cannot say that to you. But in spite of everything, in spite of the imminent extirpation, we still live.

"Two things fill me with pride: first, that I, a Pole, am a captain in the English Merchant Marine, and second, that I can write fairly well in English."

Generals in Politics

Frank Weitenkampf

THE glamour of military prowess has lured the American voter since the early years of the nineteenth century. The politicians have obliged him, and served their own purposes, by frequently nominating a general for the presidency. They have believed (and with reason) that the preoccupation of the public with military renown might easily draw attention away from controversial political questions which might cost votes. In this process enthusiasm for military glory has tended to overshadow any thoughtful consideration of the candidate's qualifications for the office sought.

Our first president does not really come within this picture. Washington had not only led the Colonies to victory on the battlefield; he had also played his part in the councils of the statesmen who prepared the way for the nation-to-be. And for some time after his administration presidential candidates were chosen from civilians in political life. Andrew Jackson was another matter. His fame as the victor of New Orleans combined with his appeal as a representative of the plain people to make him a colorful candidate. Soon after the War of 1812 he became a presidential possibility; he was nominated in 1824 and again in 1828. The second attempt succeeded, and he made an energetic executive, although also a wilful one whose ideas on finance brought trouble.

As early as 1834 Jackson predicted that his opponents would nominate General William Henry Harrison, because "they have got to take up a soldier; they have had orators enough." Harrison was indeed a nominee in

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1836, but lost to Jackson's protégé, Van Buren. In 1840 he was again the Whig candidate, and after a "hurrah" campaign adapted to the slogan "Tippecanoe and Tyler too," was elected president, but died within a month after taking office. Meanwhile General Winfield Scott, with a record of service in the War of 1812, had been considered as a candidate in 1839 by the Whigs, and again in 1842. Then came the Mexican War, in which Scott won fresh laurels. But another general in this conflict also had his eyes turned to Washington — bluff Zachary Taylor, popular as "Old Rough and Ready." In 1848 Scott lost the nomination to Taylor, who also won the election. Cartoons of the period charged this honest old soldier, who was out of sympathy with politicians, with total ignorance of public affairs. Indeed, as the *Dictionary of American Biography* tells us, his inaugural address consisted of "non-committal platitudes," and he was "unacquainted with diplomatic procedure."

"Fuss and Feathers" Scott, nothing daunted, ran once more in 1852, this time against Franklin Pierce, who also had served as a general in the Mexican War; he lost again. Scott, who was called a "charlatan in politics," does not seem to have cut too edifying a figure in the campaign, and fared badly at the hands of the caricaturists. One of them pictured him as *Soliciting a Vote* by saying: "I licked the British and the Mexicans, if elected I shall probably lick all Europe." In this campaign Stephen A. Douglas spoke of the attempt to "convert a good general into a bad president." He further pointed out that Clay, "the great embodiment of Whig principles," had not so long before Scott's nomination by the party "proclaimed that it was better the Almighty, in His mercy, should visit the nation with pestilence and famine, in preference to the elevation of a military chieftain to the Presidency of the United States," and had "warned the American people of the example of Caesar, and Cromwell, and Bonaparte, when speaking of the preferment of military men." This statement recalls Calhoun's oft expressed fear of military dictatorship.

The Whigs, despite Clay, adhered to what had already become a party custom. This attitude (and indeed the whole question of military men in politics) was aptly and forcibly illustrated in a cartoon of this same year, 1852. In 1848, Scott had been pictured in uniform, seated on a pyramid of skulls; the title of the caricature was *An Available Candidate: The One Qualification for a Whig President.* And now Nat Currier issued a print, *Capability and Availability*, in which a group of statesmen — Webster, Douglas, Cass, Benton, and others — is confronted by two uniformed figures, Scott and Pierce. Between them stands Columbia, who says to the statesmen: "I acknowledge your noble services . . . and that you have the long experience . . . and practical wisdom which fit you to receive the highest honor in my power to bestow, but you are *not Available.*" Webster admits that "it is not our fortune to be successful military chieftains."

The politicians had created this

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situation. They knew that nomination of statesmen of strong adherence to a policy might split the party vote. To them military notabilities of unknown or un-expressed opinions, were safer and more "available." The politicians' motives were never clearer than in political conventions after 1840, especially in the days of the unsettled slavery question when there was so much expediency in playing safe.

The procession of political generals kept on. The newly formed Republican Party in 1856 chose John C. Frémont, whose *Pathfinder* and army records seemed likely to catch votes; he did not get enough. Eight years later, in 1864, he was once more nominated, this time by the minor, anti-Lincoln wing of the Republican Party. However, he withdrew and thus helped Lincoln to win over George B. McClellan, again a general playing politics. McClellan could not bring his party's platform and his letter of acceptance into harmony. In one of the many cartoons which lampooned him, he is shown trying to ride two horses, labelled "party platform" and "letter of acceptance" — two horses which are going in opposite directions.

From then on, for a long time, the Republican Party, which could claim to have saved the Union, kept on saving it by lustily waving the Bloody Shirt. Its nominee was regularly someone who — if not an out-and-out "military man in politics" — had served in the Union army, and usually as a general. In 1868 U. S. Grant, victor at Appomattox, idol of the public, won the election. The record of the administration of this all too trusting soldier is an unpleasant one. In 1872 the scandals at Washington, to which Grant was myopic, proved too much for a group of prominent men, who bolted and became the Liberal Republicans. Their choice of Horace Greeley for a candidate was an unfortunate one, and Grant remained in the White House. Later efforts to give him a third term played a considerable part in Republican Party politics. But that is a story in itself, vividly illustrated in cartoons of the time. Had the plan succeeded, the politicians would have had their use for Grant.

In 1876, in the disputed contest between Samuel J. Tilden and Rutherford B. Hayes, the latter had at least a Civil War record as general, as had James A. Garfield in 1880. Garfield's Democratic opponent, General Winfield S. Hancock, was a professional soldier. Puck contrasted the two in Keppler's cartoon *Just the Difference:* Garfield's party is the horse that carries him; Hancock "carries the party." But he could not carry it to victory.

In this same year Keppler, in his *The Army Worm*, presented the endless onward push of these destructive worms, each with the head of a military leader in politics — Garfield, Hancock, Grant, Logan, and many others. Yet the procession continued. In 1884, to be sure, General W. T. Sherman categorically refused to be drafted, to be "used for political purposes," adding, "I have seen it poison so many otherwise good characters"; he had Grant in view. The nomination went to James G. Blaine, but the Civil

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War veteran element once more entered with a Vice-Presidential nominee — General John A. Logan. Again, in the campaign of 1888, Benjamin Harrison's military service formed only part of his record — but there it was. In 1896 the Republican candidate, William McKinley, could point to his service as a volunteer in the Union army. Moreover, the nomination of his opponent, William J. Bryan, brought on a revolt of the Gold Democrats, whose standard bearers were J. M. Palmer and Simon Bolivar Buckner — the latter a Civil War general on the Confederate side.

The Spanish-American War produced its popular heroes, but no such list of presidential possibilities as had the Civil War. To be sure, Admiral George Dewey bobbed up as an aspirant, and for a while was fairly idolized. The nation presented him with a house, which he promptly deeded to his wife. Thereupon, Grant Hamilton, in *Judge*, depicted Uncle Sam holding the White House before Dewey, who reaches out eagerly for it. But Uncle Sam wants to know whether he will do with this house what he did with the other one. Dewey's boom lasted for a short time. He declared himself willing to serve if the people wanted him, and expressed the opinion that "the office of President is not such a difficult one to fill." It is not surprising that he soon faded out of the picture and was not nominated by either party at the conventions of 1900. As for Theodore Roosevelt, his Spanish War record was really only an incident in a spectacular career, and quite overshadowed by his militant statesmanship.

This spring some political managers have again been considering the availability of a man who has made a fine record as a general. Whether the coming years will see the same employment of soldier candidates by politicians as took place in the nineteenth century is perhaps doubtful, in view of both the internal and international problems awaiting us. Still, one must not forget that when politics meddles with affairs of state, queer results are to be expected.

OUR READERS COMMENT

On "Music for the Man Who Enjoys Hamlet"

Believing that readers of THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR *would be interested in musicians' opinions of B. H. Haggin's article "Music for the Man Who Enjoys Hamlet," the Editor solicited critical comments from Arthur Shepherd, distinguished American composer and chairman of the Department of Music of the Graduate School of Western Reserve University, and from Arthur W. Quimby, concert organist and professor of music at Connecticut College for Women.*

To the Editor: I appreciate sincerely your thought and interest in requesting a critical commentary from me on the article by Mr. Haggin, but after due reflection I am doubtful that I could meet such an assignment satisfactorily.

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My reason for this hesitation is that I find myself substantially in agreement with Haggin's ideas, despite his somewhat labored expression thereof. His viewpoint in general is that of one who is ostensibly "in the know" concerning the "meaning" of music or of the "meaning of meaning" of music and who has the desire to lend a helping hand to the "naive listener."

He says, in effect, that the "naive listener" has only to expose himself to the music and let it "have its way with him" and let all technical matters go hang. In general, that's all right; if it were otherwise, composers would have scant prospects for being heard at all.

An analysis of what *happens* on the receiving end (the listener) of a musical composition is an intriguing and baffling problem — among musicians as well as among laymen. It has given rise to volumes of aesthetic writings and, also, some lively controversies.

Haggin's article doesn't broach controversial aspects. If it had more specific aesthetic or technical slants and were addressed to somewhat more specialized points of observation, then I might find myself more inclined to debate or discussion.

I am, naturally, much interested in aesthetics — particularly in *relation* to our *existing American cultural status*, about which I sometimes become depressed.

Cultural integration (to say nothing of cultural *maturity*) seems to be a "will-o'-the-wisp" in our beloved country!

ARTHUR SHEPHERD
Cleveland, Ohio

To the Editor: If it is fair to state Mr. Haggin's main theses to be approximately these: that familiarity must precede understanding; that the meaning of non-programmatic music can only be expressed in its own terms; that the process of composition involves the whole man, not only as an individual but as he reflects the age in which he lives; and that technical knowledge is not a prerequisite to understanding — then I can only register hearty approval.

Being a teacher of subjects dealing with the understanding of musical literature and probably motivated therefore by an instinct for self-preservation I do find however that there is a very real hurdle to be surmounted between that familiarity which can be gained by repeated playings of the first one and a half inches of a recording and that understanding which is based on having learned "to follow the grammar and logic of musical thought." This is a high hurdle and only the rare case of native talent can be expected to "take" it,

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even after repeated attempts, without some sort of guidance. This does not call for an apologist or a popularizer. I agree unreservedly with Mr. Haggin that they frequently do more harm than good because they divert us from the thing itself, which is the music. But music is a subtle language, and just as I am certain that I would forever remain blind to the formal elements of a great painting without the aid of a sensitive and discerning guide so do I feel that most of the Hamlet-loving-but-music-fearing public will need some kind of assistance before they arrive at that complete understanding of music which we all so earnestly desire. Repetition will scarcely avail by itself.

ARTHUR W. QUIMBY
New London, Conn.

On "Democracy and the Negro"

To the Editor: I write to congratulate you on the publication of an excellent article in the current Spring issue of THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR. I refer to "Democracy and the Negro" written by Dr. Otelia Cromwell.

My father, Attorney Alex H. Martin, member of Alpha of Ohio, Phi Beta Kappa, and I, member of Epsilon of Ohio, are both gratified to find Phi Beta Kappa leading again as it faces the stirring issue of the American brand of race prejudice as it confronts us today. I heartily agree with the conviction expressed with such vigorous scholarliness by Dr. Cromwell, when she urges the leaders in thought to chart the course toward spiritual and intellectual emancipation from the shackles of race prejudice. It will take the courageous efforts and acknowledged responsibility of leadership, for which Phi Beta Kappa men and women are well prepared, to counteract successfully the subversive influences which are already being set in motion to attempt to hold one element of Americans down to inferior levels of living. The publication of Dr. Cromwell's literary discourse attests to the fact that your Editorial Board is alert to the needs of the times and is already dedicating itself to the purpose of holding aloft the torch of consecrated leadership — even in the face of a surprising wave of reactionary forces which would have us all sink back to the level of shortsighted barbarism.

I commend you most sincerely upon the wisdom you and your colleagues have evidenced in the timely publication of the current article, "Democracy and the Negro."

SARAH MARTIN EASON
Miner Teachers College, Washington, D. C.

On "Which Are the Liberating Arts?"

To the Editor: I am moved to write you concerning the article by John Herman Randall, Jr., which appeared in the Spring issue of THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR, primarily because of the discrepancy between the experience of reading it a first time and that of reading it a second time. At the first reading I was much impressed with the lucidity of Mr. Randall's thought and style, and with the cogency of his argument. In fact, the only possible objection I could find to the article lay in Mr. Randall's infrequent but painfully heavy-handed attempts to be playful. These reminded me of Salvador de Madariaga's verdict on Wordsworth's least fortunate poems: that they seemed to him like an elderly clergyman's attempts to join in Sunday School picnic games.

But, as I said, they are infrequent, and this is a trivial criticism. The second reading gave me serious pause. Mr. Randall's central plea — for liberal and hence liberating teaching — is really the re-statement of a platitude. Yet I have no quarrel with it for that reason; few of us are capable of saying something at once new and urgent, and I am inclined to believe that the older a platitude is, the more likely it is to contain abiding truth. What I do quarrel with is Mr. Randall's failure to touch upon what seems to me the single greatest factor in our failure to produce many "liberating" teachers: the contemporary American graduate school.

Aren't we (to paraphrase Mr. Randall) turning out a legion of "scholars" who know one area of research (and that usually a narrow one) supremely well, but little or nothing of the relation of that one area to the remaining continents of knowledge and life? Not only turning them out, but encouraging them? And just how are we going to develop "liberating" teachers while that remains true?

On second thought, perhaps I'm not condemning Mr. Randall at all, except for not doing what he (apparently) never intended to do: discuss the basic causes of our not getting much of the sort of teaching he advocates. However, I cannot believe that a man of Mr. Randall's insight and experience is not aware of the nature of these causes. Therefore, I cannot help wishing that he had gone on to expose the pitiful degenerate scholasticism that exists today in most of our graduate schools. Somebody must do that soon, if we are ever to have "liberating" teaching.

JEREMIAH GLASS
New York, N. Y.

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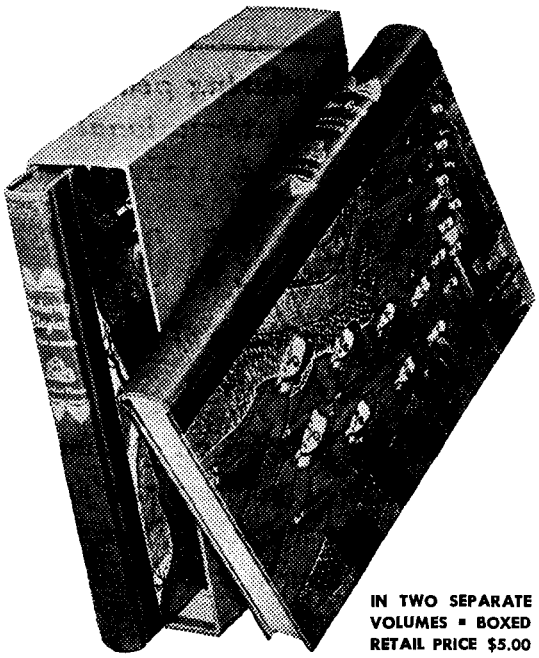

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Our Authors

BURTON E. LIVINGSTON, distinguished plant physiologist and inventor, has been a member of the Editorial Board since 1934. Dr. Livingston was formerly associated with Johns Hopkins University, where he was the director of the laboratory of plant physiology.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH, author, dramatic critic, and professor of English at Columbia University, is at present completing a book about Samuel Johnson. Professor Krutch is widely known for his work on *The Nation*, of which he is still dramatic critic. He is the author of many articles and of seven books, including *The Modern Temper* (1929) and *The American Drama Since 1918* (1939).

A comprehensive book on collectors and collecting written by DOUGLAS RIGBY in collaboration with his wife, Elizabeth Rigby, will be published in the fall by J. B. Lippincott Company. Mr. Rigby is a painter and has lectured and written newspaper and magazine articles on art. Two years ago (Spring 1942) his paper on "Dictators and the Gentle Art of Collecting," appeared in THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR.

Professor of English Literature at Louisiana State University, CLEANTH BROOKS was formerly one of the editors of *The Southern Review*. He is the author of numerous critical essays and reviews which have appeared in *The Virginia Quarterly Review*, *The Kenyon Review*, *The New Republic*, *Poetry*, and other publications. *Understanding Poetry* (1938) and *Understanding Fiction* (1943) were written by Professor Brooks in collaboration with Robert Penn Warren.

MURIEL RUKEYSER is one of the most distinguished American poets of her generation. The first of her major publications was *Theory of Flight*, written in 1935. In 1942 Miss Rukeyser was awarded a Guggenheim Fellowship for creative writing. "The Antagonists" is the ninth of a series of ten elegies which conclude Miss Rukeyser's *Beast in View*, to be published this month by Doubleday, Doran and Company.

Formerly a member of the faculty of the University of London's Institute of Education, MAX BLACK is now professor of philosophy at the University of Illinois. Professor Black was educated at Cambridge and Göttingen. He was trained as a mathematician, but "deserted" to his present field. He is the author of *The Nature of Mathemat-*

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ics, and of many articles which have appeared in such magazines as the *Philosophy of Science*, the *Journal of Philosophy*, and the *Journal of Higher Education*.

JOSEPH KATZ was born in Germany and lived there until 1937. Mr. Katz spent three years in Switzerland, where he attended the University of Basel, before coming to this country in 1940. He is at present a fellow in philosophy at Columbia University, and is preparing a dissertation on the Greek Neoplatonists.

EDWARD LAROCQUE TINKER is a lawyer, who served on District Attorney Jerome's staff in New York. He holds the degree of Docteur de l'Université de Paris. Two of his books on Gallic influence in Louisiana were awarded medals by the French Academy. For the last eight years he has contributed a weekly column to *The New York Times* Book Review section under the heading "New Editions, Fine and Otherwise." Recently Mr. Tinker made a trip to Mexico as visiting lecturer on American Literature under the auspices of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

J. E. WEAVER is professor of plant ecology in the University of Nebraska, and was formerly research associate in ecology at the Carnegie Institution of Washington. The author or joint author of a dozen books and monographs, among which are *The Prairie*, *Plant Ecology* (now translated into Spanish and Portuguese), and *Studies on Drought*, Professor Weaver has also written numerous articles on related topics.

MERIBETH E. CAMERON, dean and professor of history at Milwaukee-Downer College, received her doctorate in Far Eastern History. She has taught Chinese history in American colleges and universities for fifteen years. In addition, Dean Cameron has spent some time studying in China on a research grant from the American Council of Learned Societies.

In 1921, at the age of twenty, OSCAR WILLIAMS published his first book of poems, *The Golden Darkness*, in the *Yale Series of Younger Poets*. His second book, *The Man Coming Toward You* (1940), was published by the Oxford University Press. Since that time Mr. Williams has contributed to numerous publications in England and America. He is also the editor of three anthologies of poetry.

WILLIAM F. WHYTE is a research associate and member of the Committee on Human Problems in Industry at the University of Chicago, where he is conducting a study on personnel problems in the restaurant industry. From 1936 to 1940, he was a member of the Society of Fellows, Harvard University, during which time he did independent field research, studying an Italian-American slum district. Formerly an associate professor of sociology and acting chairman of the Department of Anthropology at the University of Oklahoma, Dr. Whyte is also the author of several articles and pamphlets in his field.

ROBERT WITHINGTON has been a member of the English Department at Smith College since 1917. He has taught at the University of Lyons, Bowdoin College, Indiana University, and at summer sessions at the University of Colorado and Harvard University. Professor Withington has edited various anthologies, has been a frequent contributor to periodicals, and is the author of several books, including *Excursions in English Drama* (1937).

J. A. W. BENNETT is a fellow of The Queen's College, Oxford, where he lectured before the war. Since 1940 he has been working for the British Information Services in New York. Mr. Bennett has contributed articles and reviews to various English and American periodicals, including *The New Republic* and *P.M.L.A.*

For eighteen years M. M. MATHEWS was a member of the staff engaged in preparing the *Dictionary of American English* at the University of Chicago. At present he is employed by the University of Chicago Press to prepare the *Dictionary of Americanisms*. Among his publications are *Beginnings of American English* (1931) and *Survey of English Dictionaries* (1933).

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